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JOURNAL

OF THE

Architectural, Archæological,

AND

Historic Society,

FOR THE

COUNTY, CITY, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF

Chester.

VOL. I.

FROM JUNE, 1849, TO DECEMBER, 1855.



CHESTER:
PRINTED AT THE COURANT OFFICE,
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

MDCCCLVII.

ASHMOLEAN
OXFORD
MUSEUM

Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society,

FOR

The County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester.

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LORD-LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY.

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER.

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT COMBERMERE,

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF THE FREEMASONS OF CHESHIRE.

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Ladies or Gentlemen desiring to become Members, are invited to send in their names to any of the Secretaries, under the above addresses, or through any Subscriber.

Subscriptions are due from January 1st, and should be paid by March 25th in each year, to Mr. THOMAS HUGHES, Northgate Street, (opposite St. Peter's Church).

The Council wish it to be clearly understood, that the Authors of the several Papers, printed in this JOURNAL, *are alone responsible for the statements contained therein.*

RULES.

Objects.—The leading Objects of the Society shall be—

1.—The improvement of Architectural Taste, Science, and Construction:

2.—The illustration and preservation of the remains of antiquity and other objects of interest, in the city, neighbourhood, and county:

3.—The recommending of plans for the restoration, construction, and improvement of buildings and other works:

4.—The collecting of Historic, Archæological, and Architectural Information, documents, relics, books, &c.

5.—The mutual suggestion and interchange of knowledge on these subjects.

Constitution.—The Society shall consist of Quarterly Members, Associates, Full Members, Life, and Honorary Members.

The QUARTERLY MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of One Shilling per Quarter, and shall have free admission to all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings *only*.

The ASSOCIATE MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *Ten Shillings* per annum, and shall have, as above, the right of attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have *the benefit of the Library*, a copy of the Society's Illustrated *Journal*, as published, and be invited to join the occasional Excursions.

The FULL MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *One Pound* per annum. These shall enjoy *every right* and advantage of the Institution, be eligible into the Council, and have the privilege of introducing Visitors, under restrictions hereafter named.

LIFE MEMBERS.—Donors of Ten Pounds or more shall be Full Members for life.

LADIES may also be Members of this Society on subscribing Five Shillings per annum, and shall have a right to attend all Lectures, to purchase the *Journal* at a moderate price, and to present Communications through the Secretaries.

The Visitors to be admitted by any Full Member shall be either the ladies of his family, children between 10 and 15 years of age, or strangers from such a distance as the Council shall specify.

Honorary Members shall be chosen by the Council.

Management.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, to consist of the following persons, being Subscribers of One Pound per annum:—The Presidents and Officers of the Society; the Archdeacon of Chester; the Chairman of the Improvement Committee of the Chester Town Council; the Canon in Residence; the Principal of the Training College; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Diocesan Church Building Society; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Rural Chapel Society; and four Architects or Builders. To these shall be added other Laity and Clergy in equal numbers, not exceeding six of each, to be elected by the Full and Associate Members from among the Subscribers of One Pound per annum.

Two of these elected classes, viz. Laity and Clergy, and two of the Architects or Builders, shall retire from the Council yearly, in rotation, but shall be immediately re-eligible. Five Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. The Council shall re-appoint the Secretaries annually, or choose others in their room.

The Council may appoint Sub-committees for special purposes, or make Bye-laws, yet so as not to violate any of the fundamental principles of the Society, in which no alteration shall be made without the further concurrence of a General Meeting, and sanction of Patrons and Presidents; and if any Full or Associate Member shall be desirous of altering any Rule, he shall propose such alteration to one of the Secretaries, who shall submit it to the discretion of the Council; and before any Bye-law shall be passed by the Council, notice thereof shall have been given at a previous meeting, or specifically in writing to each Member of the Council.

There shall be an Annual General Meeting, Quarterly Meetings, and also Monthly Meetings, if the Council see fit, for the specific objects of the Society. There shall also be as many Extraordinary Meetings as the Council may appoint, at which Lectures may be given on any literary or scientific subject, with the sanction of the Council.

Property.—When the Council shall consider any Paper read at a Meeting of the Society worthy of being printed in the *Journal*, they shall request the Author to furnish the manuscript for that purpose.

FULL MEMBERS will receive a copy of the *Journal* gratis, and the remaining copies shall be sold at a sum to be fixed on by the Council for the benefit of the Society.

The Author of any Paper printed in the *Journal* may receive 25 copies of his own Paper gratis.

All Books, Prints, Relics, &c. which may be purchased by or presented to the Society, shall be preserved for the use of the Members in such place and custody as shall be appointed by the Council; and all orders for payment, &c. shall be signed by the Chairman, and counter-signed by the Secretary; and accounts audited in Council by persons appointed for the purpose, preparatory to confirmation at the Annual Meeting.

The Library and Museum of the Society are at present deposited in the large room of the late City Library, in St. Peter's Church-yard.

Admission of Members.—All Subscriptions shall be counted due on the First day of January, and shall be paid within three months of the date of admission; and, in all future years, between the 1st day of January and 25th of March. The Council shall also, if they find it desirable, appoint a certain amount of Entrance Money, to be paid on admission.

The Society may be connected with other Literary or Scientific Associations, on such terms as to the Council may seem fit; provided always, that the foregoing fundamental Rules of this Society shall be consented to as essential to the union; and that every new Member shall acknowledge the same as the conditions of admission.

Ladies or Gentlemen wishing to become Members, are requested to communicate with either of the Secretaries, or with any Member of the Council.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

(THOSE PRINTED IN ITALICS ARE LIFE MEMBERS.)

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1856 Jones Thomas W., Nantwich

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1849 Morris William, Richmond House, Boughton
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1852 Potts Charles William, Heron Bridge
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1850 Potts Miss, Watergate Street
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1850 Pownall J., Crane Street
1849 Prichard George, Watergate Street
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1853 Smith Rev. R. M., Dodleston
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1856 Sumners Alfred, Eastgate Row

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1854 Temple Rev. Robert, Saltney
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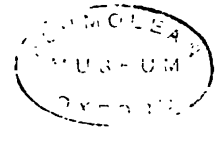
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Seals,—Timber Houses and Churches of Cheshire,—St. John's Church,—County Records,—Foundation Charter of St Werburgh's Abbey,—Coins, &c. &c., most of which are printed, with many Illustrations, in this volume.

Communication has been established with the Secretaries of other Societies in London and elsewhere, who are always ready to answer questions and explain points of difficulty. Antiquaries and architects coming from a distance have found here assistance and willing guides to all that is worth seeing. Advantage has been taken of every opportunity to investigate subjects which have long been debated (such as the underground passages, &c.); workmen have been liberally encouraged to save relics which would otherwise have been broken up or lost; some very rare examples, together with coins in considerable quantity, tiles with the mark of the 20th legion upon them, and various minor relics of Samian ware, bronzes, &c., have thus been preserved for the Society's Museum.

And lastly, above all, good-will and social feeling have been promoted between parties who otherwise would rarely meet except on business, but who are mutually glad of an opportunity for the interchange of what information each chances to possess, and so to extend the circle of improving taste, as well as to cultivate the kindly feelings of their common nature.

We may gather beyond doubt, from all these hints, that such a Society is *capable* of being made most useful, and *may* contribute to the cultivation of knowledge, of taste, and entertainment, though the amount or continuance of the benefit will be proportionate to the actual aid given by the architects, artists, and antiquaries of the neighbourhood or county, on whose enlightened liberality the result must obviously much depend. If any individual then has any singular records, relics, or rare examples of archæology, let him bring them forward to be exhibited and registered as a valuable possession of his own and as worthy of reference to others, and thus contribute to the stock of information so greatly wanted. You that have, whether lady or gentleman, far or near, the gift of drawing, send sketches of your buildings and churches, or notable parts thereof, from which it may be seen whether they call for a more exact and detailed delineation. Come you, whose disinterested pleasure it is to promote every undertaking which promises general advantage to the locality. Come, above all, citizens of Chester, residents of one of the most ancient and characteristic cities of the land, despise not those tokens of history and devotion, amidst which providence has specially cast your lot. Come all, who have any of the noble sentiment of veneration for what is venerable, contribute your ability, and partake, it may be, of some little in return.



CHESTER
Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society.

Report of the First Public Meeting,

AS TAKEN FROM THE 'CHESTER COURANT' OF JANUARY 2, 1850.

THE opening of this Society, which has lately been established under the most favouring auspices, was held on December 31, 1849, in the Albion Assembly Room, and was very numerously attended by many of the principal families of the city and neighbourhood, including large parties of ladies; the Bishop, Dean, Chancellor, and most of the clergy in the vicinity; several of the county magistrates, and a goodly gathering of the professional gentlemen and tradesmen of Chester.

The Lord Bishop of Chester presided.

The Bishop said, having been requested by his friend, Mr. Massie, to open the proceedings, he would take the liberty of expressing the great gratification he felt in being present at the meeting, and his cordial approval of its object, which was to support an Archæological, Architectural, and Historic Society for the county and city of Chester. He would leave it to those gentlemen who had originated and matured the plan to explain its details, as the very little share he had taken in preparing the preliminary arrangements only enabled him to speak of its general principles, and that indeed in very brief terms. The title and object of the Society, as they had heard, were very comprehensive: it was not only designed for architectural but for antiquarian and historical researches, and he certainly regarded these latter features as a great recommendation to the Society, for he did not think there was any respect in which architecture could be presented in so interesting a point of view as when taken in connection with the history and progress of social improvement. (Cheers,) This very town of Chester, with its ancient walls, carried back their thoughts to times very different from that in which we lived—to unsettled times—times of rude violence and hostile inroads; being built in fact for the defence of the inhabitants of the town. And, throughout

the whole of England we saw and admired, whether in ruins or still entire, the remains of fine old noble halls, and feudal and baronial castles, in which we trace the last remaining moats and towers and battlements of bygone days. Now all these were characteristics of times in which it was necessary to build residences not only for the comfort but also for the defence and security of their occupants, but just in proportion as the principles of social order and the gentle arts of peace and civilization advanced, the characteristics of architecture had undergone a change which it would be interesting to trace in its gradual progress, until in these our own happy peaceful times, the mansions of England were conspicuous principally for their comfort, their elegance, and their tastefulness; while what is still as much characteristic of these times, the dwelling of the humblest man amongst us, is under the protection of equal laws, as safe and as secure to him as though it were his castle. (Cheers.) To him (the Bishop) the study of archæology was still more interesting in another, although perhaps a somewhat limited, point of view, namely, with reference to its bearings on ecclesiastical history. The city of Chester afforded ample illustrations in this respect. What a wide range of research did the history of our own fine cathedral open to us. He dared say there were some persons present, perhaps many, who had, like himself, the pleasure of hearing in the course of the last summer, during the sitting of the British Archæological Association in Chester, a very interesting Lecture on Chester Cathedral, by Mr. Ashpitel. Those who heard it, or had since read it, for it had been printed, must have very clearly perceived what a field of interesting inquiry the study of that building presented; and the whole of them might judge of its interest on making themselves acquainted with that very pleasing and interesting description of it which had issued from the pen of their friend and fellow-townsman, Mr. Hicklin; and perhaps not the least gratifying fact connected with it, as an object of architectural study, was the very beautiful and tasteful restorations and improvements that had been effected in its interior by his kind friend, their respected Dean, who had done them the honour of being present on that occasion—(Cheers)—aided as he had been throughout so zealously, generously, and nobly by the contributions which so many kind friends had cordially rendered towards carrying out the praiseworthy object which he had in view. He wished to take this opportunity of expressing his admiration of the spirit and liberality which the nobility and gentry of Chester and the neighbourhood had shown, in assisting the Dean in the carrying out of this and every other work of a kindred character. (Cheers.) These magnificent cathedrals were the work of our forefathers in times long past, and quite eclipsed all architecture of later days, but it should be remembered here too that even the ecclesiastical architecture of the country has been affected to some extent by the change in our social condition. The exigencies of our own

times seem not to require new cathedrals, but very greatly require new district churches, and there was no part of England in which the liberality he spoke of before had been more nobly shown than in this county and diocese, in the efforts that had been made—and he trusted would still continue to be made—to meet this exigency; and he was very willing to hope that this society, if it prospered, as from the numerous attendance he confidently trusted it would prosper, might be instrumental both in fostering a spirit for building new churches to meet the exigencies of the times, and also in securing for these new churches stability of construction, correctness of architecture, and taste, without involving the necessity of profuse extravagance, or superfluous expense. He thought in this respect the Society would be instrumental in accomplishing much good, and that by combining the efforts of the clergy and the laity in furtherance of this work of piety and charity, they would not only be promoting the prosperity of the Established Church of this country by securing its extension, but also the doing of that work in the best possible way. (Cheers.) He was happy in having this opportunity of expressing, however general, (for into minute details he was not prepared to enter) his approbation of this Society, and his pleasure in attending the present meeting. He believed there had been a hope entertained that its first public meeting would have been held under the presidency of the Marquis of Westminster. The absence however of that nobleman from home prevented his attendance, but he had done the Society the greatest honour by allowing his name to be connected with it as its patron, and he was sure that all present would be glad to express in the strongest terms their sense of his lordship's kindness, not only in this particular instance, but in promoting also every other society and object with which the interests of the City of Chester were connected. (Cheers.) He believed also from what he understood from his friend Mr. Massie, that Lord Combermere had also kindly permitted his name to be recorded as a patron of the Socity, and he felt particular pleasure in calling the attention of the meeting to that fact, as he (the Bishop) had received great marks of personal kindness from that nobleman since he first came as a stranger into this county. His lordship had now lived to see the close of many many years, and they would heartily wish that he might be spared to see many happy ones yet to enjoy the honours he had so nobly won in the service of his country. (Cheers.) He would not detain them any further, as there were several gentlemen around him who were prepared to move the various resolutions necessary to bring the Society fully before the public, and amongst them one gentleman, Sir Herbert Maddock, who having been absent from his native city the greater part of his life, had now come to spend the remainder of his days amidst the friends of his early youth. (Cheers.) He would therefore call upon Mr. Williams to submit to the meeting the first resolution.

The Mayor of Chester (J. Williams, Esq.,) said, it fell to his lot, being the chief magistrate of the city, to propose the following resolution :— "That this meeting congratulates the public on the formation of an Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society for the County, City, and neighbourhood of Chester." It would be bad taste in him to blame either themselves or those who had gone before them for not having sooner originated and established such a society as this ; allow him rather to congratulate them that a gentleman had recently come amongst them who had the discernment to perceive the necessity, the spirit to propose, the energy to carry out, and the talents which would hereafter do honour to this institution. Here they were as citizens of Chester among ruins of every description, with relics almost every day exhumed from beneath their feet of the Roman, the Norman, the Baronial, and the feudal eras— relics, belonging to civil society, military achievements and ecclesiastical history, and yet these relics having been once brought to light had been wondered at for a moment, and then thrown aside neglected and forgotten. The time had however come when articles of this sort could be brought together, and if not brought together, at least registered, and so arranged and systematised as to throw light, not only on each other, but on important historic matters. There really appeared nothing so wonderful to him as the index given by antique remains to chronological eras. That a gentleman should be enabled to take a walk round a Cathedral which he had never seen before, and tell within a very few years when this and that portion was executed—when this mullion, that cornice, or yonder capital was completed, was to him at least a marvellous thing. It was as if a person, having a copy of Ackerman's Polite Repository, should look over a lady's cast-off wardrobe, and by doing so tell the precise moment at which this or that cap or collar came out. (Laughter.) He confessed he often looked with pity on the labours of future archæologists. He (Mr. Williams) could look back on this period and on that, and assign to each particular work of art its date ; but what future archæologists would do when they looked at the works of the present day he could not possibly imagine, seeming as this did the *omnium, gatherum* period. We seemed in fact to be like the parrot imitating the notes of other people, but having no note of our own. (Laughter.) Look at Chester for instance. There were buildings at the Castle which nobody could doubt were thrown up by the same hand as the Necropolis at Athens. Then there was Eaton Hall, apparently coeval with York Minster, and yet fitted up with plate glass windows and all the refinements of modern luxury. Last summer he had visited Conway Castle, and who in future ages would doubt that it, and its outworks were built by the same hand? And when future archæologists looked at the tubular and suspension bridges in the immediate neighbourhood, how would they admire the prudence and foresight of King Edward

the First, who was said to have built the Castle, in providing the means of reinforcing his garrison either by four-horse coaches or railway locomotives, (Laughter.) There were two historic legends to which he wished to direct the attention of the Society. One of these was, that in former times the Mayor of Chester having given offence to the inhabitants of North Wales, visited Mold, where, being caught out of his own jurisdiction, they hung him up in a kitchen with as little ceremony as they would hang up a flitch of bacon—an occurrence which he at least hoped would not take place during the present mayoralty. (Cheers and laughter.) The other legend was this: his audience were aware that children when young required to be danced about with a sort of continuous movement. When this process was going forward, the accompanying song in England was generally a little ditty something like this,

"Ride a cockhorse to Banbury cross,
To see a fine lady get on her white horse."

In Wales, however, the customary ditty was somewhat different, and without running the risk of injuring the drum of the Bishop's ear by giving it in the original Celtic, he would take the liberty of translating as follows—

"Trotting, trotting, trotting to Chester,
To the marriage of the mayor's daughter,
Trotting, trotting, trotting back again,
She's been married many a day."

It would be seen, therefore, that the first idea conveyed to the children of the Principality was the magnificence of the city of Chester, and more particularly of its Mayor—(Cheers)—and perhaps this ditty may have been composed owing to some magnificent fete given to the inhabitants of the Principality in the immediate neighbourhord on the marriage of the Mayor's daughter; though he (Mr. Williams) could hardly expect a similar compliment, as he had not the pleasure of having a daughter marriageable during his mayoralty. (Laughter,) In conclusion, he begged to congratulate the meeting on the establishment of this Society, for as had been well observed, "whatever makes the past, the distant or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the scale of thinking beings." Hoping that the Society would realise this sentiment, he begged most heartily to move the resolution.

Randle Wilbraham, Jun., Esq., of Rode Heath, Cheshire, had much pleasure in seconding the resolution, and said that in doing so he merely appeared before them for the purpose of testifying his desire to promote the objects of the society. (Hear, hear.) As he saw around him gentlemen better qualified than himself to explain its objects—as their time was now becoming very limited—and perhaps, the best reason of all, as he was unable to furnish any interesting information with reference to archæological matters, he would content himself by simply seconding the resolution.

The Rev. H. Raikes, Chancellor of Chester, said he had the honour to move the next resolution; it was "That the meeting approve of the leading objects of the Society as stated in the printed rules." In commending this resolution he thought first he ought to read what the objects of the society were. They were stated in the constitution to be these:— 1. The improvement of Architectural Taste, Science, and Construction: 2. The illustration and preservation of the remains of antiquity and other objects of interest, in the city, neighbourhood, and county. 3. The recommending of plans for the restoration, construction, and improvement of buildings and other works. 4. The collecting of Historic, Archæological, and Architectural information, documents, relics, books, &c. 5. The mutual suggestion and interchange of knowledge on these subjects. Now here were objects sufficient to attract the attention of a much larger meeting than the one he now saw before him, large as it was—objects which he felt convinced could only be sufficiently met by the formation of such a Society as that which they were now establishing. At the same time he must rejoice that this Society had been originated under his lordship's sanction, not merely because he knew the manner in which it would be brought before the public, not only because he knew the spirit in which his lordship would take it up and endeavour to carry it out, but because certain feelings had once crossed his own mind, and perhaps the minds of other people also, which had now been effectually removed. The meeting by being appointed for that day had secured the attendance, as was contemplated, of the leading gentlemen of the county, and, having obtained the sanction of his lordship and the influential meeting before him, he would briefly state the grounds on which public support to the society might be claimed. He would state as the first ground, its capability of affording a large amount of innocent amusement. The truth was, mankind were hardly aware of the amount of amusement within their reach, and which became accessible through the influence of knowledge; but which under other circumstances is lost because unremarked and observed. In the floral world for instance, every one is conscious of the beauty of colour and form in the flowers which meet his eye, but how slight and transient is the gratification of the cursory observer compared with that which the botanist enjoys, when he explores the secret wonders of their construction, and the process through which they fulfil their various purposes. In the same way the beauties of architecture may have the power of arresting attention, but how different is the feeling with which the same building is viewed by the vulgar eye and by that of the scientific man or the historic student. What was mere form or colour in one case becomes rich with associations in the other, and buildings become peopled as it were, and recount the stories of bygone days to him who contemplates them with an antiquarian eye. (Hear.) But the society was not only deserving of their support as tending to

increase the stock of innocent amusement and of extending it more widely; but it had also a higher claim. The amusement afforded—the interest excited by such studies as those this society provided, had a tendency to stem the downward course of popular feeling, and to give dignity and elevation to the mind that entertains them. The words of our great moralist, which had been so appropriately quoted by the Mayor, should never indeed be forgotten, that whatever draws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the scale of thinking beings; and while the pervading spirit of the day looks exclusively to that which is practical, it is well to stimulate and excite the imaginative powers, and thus to obtain that equilibrium in which the perfection of mind consists. And indeed unless some efforts of this sort were made, it was but too probable that sensual indulgence would become the resource of our leisure hours, and that the mind, if no amusement were provided for it, would never rise above the body. (Cheers.) But there were reasons likewise of a local nature which might be urged upon the present meeting in behalf of such a society as this. The inhabitants of Chester were hardly aware of the interest taken in this ancient city by foreigners, and especially by Americans. He had a short time ago the pleasure of conducting some well-educated individuals from the United States through Chester, and it was hardly possible to describe the interest with which they viewed the ancient buildings that fulfilled all their dreams of the old country, and carried their imaginations back to the days of which they read. Had a society like the present been called into existence fifty years ago—had it been there to arrest the progress of decay, or to stay the hand which destroyed instead of restoring what it touched—Chester would have been an object of attraction to all our transatlantic brethren who had taste or learning, and voyages might have been made to Chester just on the same principle that men of taste pay their visits to Rome or Athens. (Cheers.) Nor could we deny, if we turned to less imaginative subjects, that much of a really practical character might be gained from antiquarian study. The meeting might be surprised to hear that some of the leading improvements of modern times had been anticipated by the Romans, and might indeed have been learned from the relics of their residence in this country. The public had heard much, and they could not hear too much, of the evil of intramural interments, and by general consent cemeteries were now being made outside of towns. There was a time, about sixteen hundred years ago, when Chester was occupied by the Romans. In number they were much fewer, and in their manner of sepulture they were widely different from ourselves. They would, it seems, not have permitted what we have been so long enduring, with reference to intramural interments, and from investigations which had been made, there appears little reason to

doubt that half-way between the city of Chester and the village of Eccleston was the locality where the ashes of their dead were deposited. (Hear.) Public attention had also at length been awakened to the necessity of a better supply of water for the metropolis and our larger towns; but who that has seen the aqueducts striding along the Campagna of Rome can have failed to remark the wisdom which provided for the health and refreshment of the people by conducting rivers into the centre of the city. In these and in other cases the measures of the Sanatory Committee might have been suggested by an antiquarian society, and the wisdom of olden times might have remedied the sufferings of the present. But to come nearer home, and to touch on a subject which had been so well and ably referred to by the chairman, he thought some great moral lesson might be learnt from the study of our ancient halls, by comparing them with the mansions of modern days. In the first of these we see the wide open space provided for the accommodation and entertainment of the poor, while there seemed to be little room for private comfort, and the owner had but little to enjoy. In the second we see the most refined arrangements, with all the embellishments and adornments of modern art; but alas! too frequently directed to the comfort of only of a few. The one, rude and dreary though it be, looks still like the home of hospitality: the other, in the midst of all its elegance, seems the very shrine of self. In the one, with its spacious hall and open door, man lived avowedly—if not really—for his neighbours; in the other, the closed door, the difficult approach, the refined luxury within, and the limitation of access from without, seem to show that the comforts collected, are collected for self-indulgence alone, and that if a man's home is a castle, it is he who is to be the lord of it. (Cheers.) If the advantages such as he had ventured to anticipate should be derived from the institution of this society, and if any such influences as he had suggested should be awakened by its proceedings, he should feel assured that it was amply entitled to the support which he asked in its behalf. (Cheers.)

Sir Herbert Maddock said, though a stranger to the citizens of Chester, having been absent from it the greater portion of his life, he felt deeply the high honour conferred upon him in being appointed to second the resolution. Although for thirty-five years he had been a stranger to the city, he was still a native of it, and he could not return to it without feelings of regard or veneration: he felt himself proud indeed that he was again among the citizens of this ancient and loyal place. There was very little that he could add to recommend the resolution which the Chancellor had so ably proposed. To him it appeared that the objects of the institution were in every respect calculated to supply what in this and in many other principal cities of England had ever been considered a desideratum; for though the British Museum, and the large and great Antiquarian and

Archæological Societies brought within their operation the various districts of this great country in order to give full effect to their researches, yet there was ample room for the establishment of local institutions to assist the national societies in prosecuting their laudable objects. At this period the study of antiquity and archæology seemed to be general in all quarters of the world, and we had lately obtained the means of interpreting the remains of ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, and the northern parts of India; and a work was now in the press in reference to those subjects. It was a somewhat extraordinary fact too, that there would soon be laid before the public inscriptions of the times of Cyrus and Cambyses, not known to Herodotus or Xenophon, or any of the ancient writers of Rome or Greece. There might be in Chester little remaining that had not been brought to light; and yet, as had been observed by the Mayor, we might have still underneath our feet the remains of buildings and inscriptions of the period when the twentieth legion established their head quarters in Chester. It might indeed have been of advantage if a society of this kind had been established fifty years ago. It was well, however, that it had been at length established; and that the last day of this year should have seen the commencement of a society which might be productive of such good results. (Cheers.) He had not been in the habit of addressing public meetings, and would therefore conclude by seconding the resolution.

Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire, said, in moving the resolution which had been put into his hand, it was his intention to detain the meeting only a few moments, as it would be highly inexpedient so to do, after the able and eloquent addresses which had just been delivered. He could only say, that having always taken great interest in archæological pursuits, and being persuaded of the great advantage that would arise from them, he felt great satisfaction in identifying himself with a society like this; and in endeavouring to promote, however humbly, its success and prosperity. (Cheers.) He might congratulate the citizens of Chester and its neighbourhood on the spirited and successful exertions which had led to the formation of this society, and he had no doubt that great advantage would arise from it. He said this more particularly because, having looked over its rules, he found that in its constitution it included both honorary and paying members, and from this circumstance there was every reason to believe that a larger number of persons would become members than if it were confined to any particular class. He begged, therefore, to move the following resolution :—"That this meeting considers the constitution of this society as well devised to secure its proposed objects, its permanent influence, its satisfactory management, and the extension of its advantages to all classes of society."

Mr. Hicklin (Editor of the *Chester Courant)* then rose to second the motion, and said that it devolved upon him to explain in some measure, which he hoped would not prove tiresome, the details of the constitution of the Society, to which reference had just been made by the respected Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire; and he would take this opportunity of remarking, that he considered it a fortunate circumstance for the Society, that it was favoured with the co-operation of Sir Stephen Glynne, who had proved his taste and zeal in the prosecution of the objects for which it was established, by the ability with which, for two years, he had filled the office of President of the Cambrian Archæological Association. (Cheers.) Mr. Hicklin then referred to the rules of the Society, which were applicable to the admission of members, and to the manner in which provision was made for the appointment of Patrons and Presidents. When he stated that the Patrons of the Society were the Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire (the Marquis of Westminster), the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and the Provincial Grand Master of the Free Masons of Cheshire (Lord Combermere); and that the Mayor of Chester, the Dean of Chester, and the Chancellor of the Diocese were its Presidents, *virtute officii*; he thought that the meeting would concur with him in opinion that a judicious arrangement had been effected to secure, as the words of his resolution expressed, "its permanent influence," and that the acceptance of the appointments by such noblemen and gentlemen as those who were at the head of the ecclesiastical and civic departments of the city and county was a sufficient guarantee for "its satisfactory management," and an assurance that they should never want a most efficient and influential chairman to preside over the deliberations and more active proceedings of the Society. He then entered into an explanatory comment upon the following rules as to membership, and shewed how well they were adapted for "the extension of its advantages to all classes of society"—"The Society shall consist of Quarterly Members, Associate Members, Full Members, and Honorary Members. The Quarterly Members shall consist of all subscribers of one shilling per quarter, and shall have free admission to all lectures, exhibitions, and ordinary meetings. The Associate Members shall consist of all subscribers of ten shillings per annum, and shall have, as above, the right of attendance at all lectures, exhibitions, and ordinary meetings, and shall also have the benefit of the library, and be invited to join the occasional excursions. The Full Members shall consist of all subscribers of one pound per annum. These shall enjoy every right and advantage of the Institution, and shall be eligible into the Council, and have the privilege of introducing visitors, under restrictions named in the rules." He must not here neglect to observe, that Ladies were admissible as Members of the Society; several, he was happy to say, were enrolled,

from some of whom they had received, and by others they hoped to be favoured with, illustrative drawings of various objects of antique and historic interest; and when they thought of the cultivated refinement, and the quick perception of the lines of beauty, by which the gentler sex were distinguished, he was sure that every man, who entertained a proper appreciation of the fine taste and talent which ladies usually exhibited in literary and pictorial pursuits, would cordially approve of that regulation. (Cheers.) The admission too of Quarterly Members upon such low terms as one shilling per quarter would, it was hoped, be the means of opening new sources of information and amusement to that large class of young men who were engaged in the shops and offices of the city, as well as to the industrious and intelligent artizan who might there acquire a knowledge of the true principles of that art which his labour was employed to shape into practical effect. And thus the beautiful figure by which Washington Irving had described the progress of Literature had become applicable to Archæology, of which it might now be said that it had gone forth into the highways and thoroughfares of life; had erected bowers by the wayside for the refreshment of the pilgrim and the traveller; and had opened fountains where even the labouring man might turn aside from the dust and the heat of the day, and drink of the living streams of knowledge. (Cheers.) In all the preliminary discussions among the first promoters of the Society, anxious care had been taken to establish it on sound principles, and with such expansive machinery as might include within its sphere of usefulness all classes of the community; and if, as he presumed would be the case, its constitution should receive the sanction of that meeting, they must not forget that to the energy, judgment, and taste of the Rev. Rector of St. Mary's in Chester (the Rev. W. H. Massie), the Society was mainly indebted for its origin and code of management. (Cheers.) Enough he trusted had been already urged by those who had preceded him to secure for the Society cheerful and extensive support. Chester, of all other places, as the Lord Bishop had well intimated, seemed a most favourable locality for the healthy existence of such an institution; it was in itself rich in materials for reflection and illustration, and to it might well be applied the poet's exclamation—

> "The walls have voices, and the stones do speak;
> It is the very home of memory."

The Rev. Chancellor had remarked that if such a Society had been in existence fifty years ago, how much of information, how many relics of the past, now lost for ever, might have been preserved; that was perfectly true; and he (Mr. Hicklin) would take the liberty of adding, how many instances of bad taste in architectural construction, how many deplorable cases of what used to be called "improvements" in the repairs and

alterations of churches might have been prevented, had a better direction been sooner given to public taste in those matters. (Hear, hear.) There might be those who differed from him in opinion, but he really thought that if such a Society had been in existence a few years since, they would not have had such a specimen of an ecclesiastical building on such a site as St. Paul's Church at Boughton exhibited. (Cheers and general laughter.) He was also inclined to think that the Grecian temple of St. Bridget, "comfortable" though it might be, would not have been considered the best style of architecture for a Christian Church in that favourable situation—(hear)—and he was sure, that in the modern alterations of the ancient Rows of Chester, greater care would have been taken to maintain those peculiar characteristics of the domestic architecture of the City, which was one of the principal objects of interest and attraction to all tourists. (Cheers.) Allusion too had been made to the newly-formed Cemetery which was shortly to be opened in Chester for the melancholy purposes of its construction: and in this case he thought the Society might exercise a wise and salutary influence, by a judicious effort to give a better direction to public taste as to the erection of fitting obituary memorials. It was impossible for any Churchman, it was impossible for any man who had imbibed the true spirit of Christianity, to walk through our Church-yards and to see the sort of grave stones, tombs, and epitaphs which there prevailed, without feeling that in such remembrancers of the departed dead, the genius of our holy faith had been forgotten, while emblems and representations were continually introduced more worthy of Pagan countries than a Christian people. (Hear, hear.) Grotesque cherubim, fat boys, burlesques of angelic forms, and other strange forms offensive to good taste were there: while others of an equally objectionable class were there, as extinguished torches and poppies, fit emblems only of that "eternal sleep" which Infidelity professed; and urns, suggestive of the sad usage which heathens in their ignorance inflicted on the bodies of the dead, but which Christianity repudiated as an unworthy indignity. In the Church-yard of Gray's beautiful Elegy, they were told that

> —"Many a holy text was strew'd around,
> To teach the rustic moralist to die."

But in too many instances, the language of grave-stones was now an exaggerated eulogy on man's good deeds, often recorded in doggrel verse, which was as offensive to good taste, as the sentiment it contained was painful to the pious and reflecting mind. He was aware that this was a delicate and a difficult subject; but he knew there was good feeling enough to receive any kindly offered suggestions on this topic, and the opening of the new Cemetery afforded a favourable opportunity for considering whether this Society might not be usefully engaged in promoting

such a regard for the selection of fitting memorials and inscriptions as might be worthy of a place of Christian sepulture; and the introduction of which would soon supersede the use of those incongruous grave-stones which well-meant but ill-informed affection too often reared to lost relatives; and thus relieve the Ecclesiastical authorities, and many a faithful Pastor of the Church, from the pain of refusing their introduction, or of admitting what they felt to be a violation of Christian propriety. (Hear, hear.) After some further remarks as to the mode in which the Society might exercise an improving and useful agency, Mr. Hicklin thus concluded—We aim, my Lord, among other objects, to set forth those collateral sources, whence so much beauty accrues to our ancient Churches; such as situation, association and historical recollections. In such monuments of the piety and skill of past ages our own locality is rich; and the arrangements and details of the great architects of former days, should be hallowed by those who are treading in their steps.

> "O' gather whencesoe'er ye safely may,
> The help which slackening piety requires:
> Nor deem that he perforce must go astray,
> Who treads upon the footmarks of his sires!"

And if through our instrumentality, barbarisms of a modern growth should give place to an intelligent spirit of Church restoration, we shall consider that we have accomplished one grand object of our Society. But we shall go even beyond that object in good, if by the exhibition of all that "beauty of holiness" which our Church allows, we shall win men's hearts to a more lively appreciation of those Catholic verities, of which she is at once the guardian and the expositor:—if by aiding in the revival of a love for the outward beauties of a Church, they shall be led to dwell on the beauties of that spiritual Church, which is "built as a city that is at unity in itself:" and thus hasten that glorious period, when, in the figurative language of the Prophet, "Holiness to the Lord shall be inscribed even upon the bells of the horses; and the pots of the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar" in splendour and beauty. (Cheers.)

The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester (Dr. F. Anson) proposed a vote of thanks to the Bishop for his kindness in taking the chair on the present occasion, and for manifesting so strong an interest in the future welfare of the Society.

C. Potts, Esq., of Upton, near Chester, briefly seconded the vote of thanks to the Bishop.

All the resolutions submitted to the meeting were most cordially adopted.

The Bishop said he was very greatly obliged for the kind manner in which the vote of thanks had been proposed and received, and it had

been a high satisfaction to himself to attest his good will at the formation of the Society, and to express his lively interest in its future success. Something had been incidentally said respecting little mistakes which had been made in Church architecture. He had passed on his way to this meeting the Church of St. Michael's, and although he did not profess to be a critic in the minute details of architecture, yet he must take upon himself to express the gratification he felt at seeing the tower of that Church so nobly restored, and in a manner so creditable to the liberality and the Christian feeling of the parishioners; and perhaps he might be permitted to hope, that after breathing time had been given, they would be enabled to extend the restorations and improvements to the remainder of the building. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to say that he looked forward with confidence to the success of the Society, not only from the names which had been entered as its patrons, not only from the friends by whom he found himself immediately surrounded, but also from the present numerous assemblage, including as it did so many Ladies; and he must say he could never despair of the prosperity of any institution whose first meeting was graced by so many Ladies as he then saw before him, and whose presence he must regard as the evidence of their concurrence and good-will in the object which the Society had in view. (Cheers.)

The meeting then separated; and we trust that a long and prosperous course of intellectual pleasure and usefulness awaits the Chester Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society.

Inaugural Address,

BY THE REV. H. RAIKES, M.A.

CHANCELLOR OF CHESTER, AND HISTORIAN TO THE SOCIETY.

Delivered at the First Quarterly Meeting of the Chester Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society, on Easter Monday, April 1, 1850.

IN the Address which I have the honour of delivering this evening, I feel that I undertake a charge of no ordinary interest. Beyond the respect due to the individuals composing the Association, and to the audience drawn together on the occasion of our primary meeting, I feel that there is an interest connected with the office I have accepted which adds largely to its apparent importance. The Association which has been formed for the promotion of archæological, architectural, and historical enquiry in reference to this City and County, must exercise some considerable influence on the character, the tastes, the happiness of its inhabitants. If it is carried on in that spirit and with that vigour, which I must say have marked its commencement; if it is directed wisely, and supported liberally; if it conciliates the good will of all by the candour and courtesy of its proceedings; and obtains the respect of all by the sobriety and good sense, by the diligence and discretion of its enquiries, I cannot but regard it as likely to be the source of much future benefit to the City. I may consider it as opening to all a field of investigation, full of amusement; and of amusement of that sort, which it is most desirable to encourage; the amusement, which combines bodily relaxation with mental exercise, and elevates the hours of relaxation by the purposes to which they are turned. I may regard it as offering incentives to a branch of study which needs and requires such encouragement, but which may eventually lead to the most valuable results; I mean that philosophical study of history which uses the experience of past ages for the benefit of the present; and employs even the errors of our forefathers for the security and defence of our own welfare. I may regard it likewise as conducive to the formation of that correctness of taste, which seems to be gained in no other way so surely, as by the comparison of what other men have done with that which we are doing ourselves, but which when once acquired ennobles every thing it touches; throws the grace of proportion over the humblest materials, and forms the secret of economy in building, by producing the greatest possible effect with the least expenditure of means. I may regard it also more generally, as contributing to those local attachments which produce so much of the

happiness of life, and add so much to its security; which spread the glow of imagination over the realities which surround us; and which bind men, by ties imperceptible, but irresistible, to places and scenes which they have been accustomed to revere. Looking forward to these results, as those which it is not unreasonable to anticipate from an Association like the present; I may surely be forgiven, if I magnify my office in contemplating the consequences that may follow it; and bespeak your indulgence in consideration of the work before me. It is impossible, however, in entering on this Address to resist some feeling of regret at the long interval of indifference to these objects which has passed; and at the consequences of that indifference, which we are at present compelled to note. There are few places in England which included originally more and more varied objects of antiquarian research than Chester. Without dwelling on what it probably was before the era of authentic history, but which it is reasonable to infer from its geographical position, at the very entrance of Wales and on the verge of the Western Coast; we know that under the Romans Chester became a colony, a military station; a centre of operations while conquest was being pursued; a centre of civilization and commercial intercourse when the dominion of the empire was established. The actual form of the City, its division by streets into four quarters, exhibits the arrangement which the Romans established in their camps, and which they naturally transferred to the cities which took the place of their military stations. Traces of the work of that wonderful people still remain on our walls and on the rocky brows which surround them; and excite the attention, and reward the diligence of the antiquarian. Those pigs of lead, the produce of Roman industry, which are first mentioned in Camden's Britannia as being found in the neighbourhood of Chester, and two of which have been recently discovered, are memorials of the early period at which the mineral wealth of this district was known, and of the commerce to which it gave rise. The interval between the Roman occupation and the Norman conquest has left, we may admit, but few traces that are visible. The diligent researches of Mr. Beamont, however, have thrown light on the early history of Eddisbury; and have pointed out the connection between Chester and the Saxon Kings. During the same period it is probable that the mountains of the Principality were the shelter in which British independence lay hid while the Saxons and Danes overran the rest of the island; and we learn from more authentic records, that the pure and primitive Christianity which was first planted in the kingdom by apostolic men, or in the apostolic age, had its home in Bangor Monachorum, on the banks of our own Dee, long before it was introduced into the southern counties by the emissaries of the See of Rome under Augustine. But the local interest of Chester rises with the era of the Norman Dynasty. The fact,

that the Earldom of Chester was granted to a nephew of the Conqueror William, must shew that Chester stood high among the cities of his newly gained dominions, and that if York formed the bulwark of the country towards the North, and against the Scottish invader, Chester was its bulwark towards the West, and on the frontier where most of all danger was apprehended. The powers which in consequence were delegated to the Earls of Chester, and the memory of which still survives in the peculiar jurisdiction and exclusive privileges of the Duchy of Lancaster, prove the importance of the position, and justify all that we can claim for it in the way of local dignity. But while we look back on these ancient honours, we cannot but regret, that a City which must from the causes that I have named have been so rich in historical association, should not have been made more early the object of antiquarian research. At present we stand on the remains of ruins. We hear, within the memory of man, of the destruction of vestiges of antiquity, which if duly noticed, or properly preserved, might have been adding dignity to our City, and throwing light on subjects of general interest in its early history. We wonder at the apathy of our ancestors, who could have seen so much and felt so little; and we envy in vain the opportunities that they possessed, but which from want of such encouragement as a Society of this kind affords they have neglected and lost. At the same time let not an unavailing regret for what has passed away, lead us to forget that which is within our reach, and which may by a timely application be rescued from destruction. Though time has done much, there are some things of a more imperishable nature, and which defy his power. Time may feed on the foliage of architectural decoration. Time may gnaw with his silent tooth the ornament, which the taste of our ancestors provided for the exterior of their buildings, and may obliterate the traces which the master's chisel left on stone. But even here the beauty of proportion survives, while the beauty of embellishment disappears. The grandeur of design is independent of the preservation of parts. The conceptions of science may be comprehended from fragments where the original edifice has perished; and the more accomplished skill of modern antiquarians is able to do justice to the architectural talent of our forefathers, just as the physiologist discovers the form of some antediluvian creature from the detached remains which are found in a fossil state. But beyond this, there are other topics within our reach of a still more endearing nature. There are historical associations, which defy the assault of time, and which are so identified with the mind in which they have their seat and dwelling, that they seem to partake of the immortality of the medium that conveys them. To adduce an obvious instance, every vestige of the Tower of Babel has long subsided into the plain from which its materials were drawn, and even Mr. Layard's researches may bring nothing to

light which shall claim any connection with the fabric of which we read in Scripture. But the history of that Tower exists in every mind, which is acquainted with the Old Testament; and the mighty Pyramids of Egypt, designed both by form and by materials to rival the duration of the everlasting mountains; even those Pyramids may moulder into dust and be lost among the sands of the desert, before the Tower of Babel is forgotten, or its image effaced from the recollection of a Bible-reading world. Heaven and earth may pass away, but that Word shall not pass away; and while the works of men share in the frailty of man, and stand in a process of decomposition, the truth that dwells in mind has a more enduring foundation, and enjoys in consequence a more permanent existence. If then we have occasion to lament the disappearance of some objects of antiquarian interest; if we have to regret the loss of those links of knowledge by which the distant past is connected with the present or the future, and wish in vain that an Association like our own had been instituted at an earlier period to receive the lamp of knowledge from our ancestors and hand it down to us; let us not be indifferent to the advantages we possess, nor throw away the light within our reach, from a fretful discontent because it is not better than it is. We possess great opportunities. We stand on a soil rich with the seeds of historical association. We occupy a spot, round which many of the most important events in English history centre. If the materials for observation seem to be scanty, let us remember that industry may supply their deficiency, and multiply their number; that a want of means is a providential call to exertion, rather than a ground of despondency, or an excuse for sloth; and that the mind is more likely to gain strength by the laborious prosecution of an obscure and difficult inquiry, than from an admission to sources of knowledge which are offered to every one that seeks, and are employed without energy, because gained without exertion. Let me ask you, then, before we proceed farther, and explain the future objects of this Association, to pause for a moment, and consider the circumstances of the locality where we meet in reference to our pursuit. If we venture to look beyond the period of authentic history, and to conjecture what Chester was, previous to the Roman invasion, we can hardly doubt from the peculiar advantage of its position; from its vicinity to Wales, the head quarters of Druidical superstition; from its position on the river, with which so many fabulous tales were connected; that it was a place of early note, the scene of many a dark and doubtful legend. The deeds of blood, the works of a dark and gloomy superstition, which then constituted its eminence, are now happily lost sight of and forgotten. In due time, war, that dread pioneer of civilization, reached this country: and the Roman force, that instrument in God's providence for taming the wilderness, and reducing the world to order, overran the island. The tide of conquest,

which broke first on the coast of Kent, rolled forward. In a few years our county must have bent under the iron sway of Rome; and the valour of its unarmed natives must have bowed before the discipline and weapons of its conquerors. Chester then was marked out by its position for a colony; and there is every reason to suppose that the present form and arrangement of the City is precisely that which was drawn out by the Roman General. Our streets have echoed with the measured march of the Roman Legion. Roman sentinels have walked along the line of our Walls. Roman soldiers have had their exercise, their sports on the Roodee. Roman piety raised those memorials to the gods they worshipped, which still are seen in our collections. Men of high note in ancient history it is probable have been inmates of our City. The great Agricola, for whom the affection of his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus, constructed a memorial more enduring than brass in his biography, must have continually passed through Chester. Nay, it is almost certain, that he must have resided in Chester, while organizing that invasion of Wales which carried the empire of Rome into Anglesea. The very spot in which we are met, the point where the streets intersect, was doubtless the pretorium, the residence of the General, the head-quarters, the seat of civil as well as military government; and the Agricola, for whom Tacitus has secured an existence commensurate with the existence of letters, may have held his councils, and issued his orders to the 20th Legion from this, as the central part of our City. I may also mention here, that when Tacitus describes the process by which Roman manners diffused themselves through Britain, and gradually completed the subjugation of the country, he specifies two things which in a singular degree are brought before us here, and claim the attention of this Association. He speaks of the natives of Britain as acquiring a taste for the two leading features in Roman civilization, "Porticus and Balnea,"—the portico, in which they were delighted to stroll and sun themselves, and the baths which were the national luxury. He mentions these, and we cannot but be struck by the coincidence with things, with which we are all familiar—the Rows of our ancient City and the Hypocaust which is still shewn as the Roman Bath. We are hereby led to infer, that the mode of construction which gives the character to our City, originated in Roman habits; and perhaps many of us have never anticipated the fact, that the great historian Tacitus knew how to appreciate what has occupied no small share of our attentions of late, and that "Baths and Wash-houses," and "Talk in the Rows," were in his judgment the effectual instruments of civilizing our savage forefathers. But with the empire of Rome came likewise things of more importance, the blessings of internal peace, of regular government, and civilization. Beyond that, we owe to the invaders the higher blessings of the Gospel;

and this place, we may again assert, was the centre of Christian knowledge and enterprise. It is recorded that in the great monastery of Bangor, I mean Bangor surnamed Bangor Monachorum, or Monks' Bangor, a place which till the last year was included in this Diocese, and is not sixteen miles distant, were collected several thousand Monks. The lives of these recluses were passed, we are told, in alternate labour and devotion; and it is probable that the first commencement of Agricultural improvement, the embankment of the River, the clearing of the Forests, and the draining of the Morasses, may be ascribed to them. The antiquarian, however, who is drawn by pious recollection to the spot, must be prepared for a grievous disappointment. Not a vestige remains of the seminary which once poured the light of truth over the surrounding country. War embittered by bigotry; the ferocity of the Northumbrian invaders, aided by the jealousy of the Italian Monks who had been sent into England under Augustine, swept away this nursery of British Christianity. We read that two thousand Monks were involved in the general massacre, and their simple dwellings, probably nothing more than the wattled hut of the country, soon returned to the soil from which its materials were borrowed; and with them perished not only the primeval purity of faith, but much of that learning which had been cherished and cultivated among them. A darker period followed the withdrawal of the Roman frontier, during which Chester seems to have bent to the British power which was concentrated in North Wales, and to have owned the sway of British princes. It was not, however, always so. The Saxon kings from time to time annexed Chester to their dominions Edgar had his palace here, and a legend still reminds us that Edgar was rowed on the River Dee by six tributary princes from his own palace as far as the monastery of St. John's. The advocates for the navigation of the river may adduce this as an evidence that the river was in a different state from that in which it is found at present; but we are at liberty to suppose that his Majesty took advantage of the tide, and can only assume with certainty that the weir did not exist at that period. Chester, however, was doomed to undergo fresh revolutions. In the year 1066 the Norman invasion took place, and the power of the Conqueror soon crushed the opposition of the scattered and uncivilized kingdoms into which the island was divided. A new dynasty sprang up; and with it came the feudal system with its military aristocracy, its pride, its splendour, and its iron dominion. The importance of Chester, as a military station, was shewn by its being assigned as a fief to one of the chief leaders in the Norman army; and on his death, by its being given to the nephew of the Duke himself, under whom it was invested with privileges which raised it almost to the rank of a separate principality. Under Hugh, the first Earl of Chester, and his immediate successors,

we may suppose that most of those castles were built which form objects of antiquarian research in the neighbourhood, but which are melancholy records of the state of society at the time, since they were evidently built to protect the frontiers from the continued invasions of the Welsh. Some of these still remain, and from their extent and magnificence appear to have been the residences of the Earls themselves. Many more have perished, and can only be traced by the banks which mark the outline of their plan. These were probably of an inferior description, and are rather to be considered as guard-houses, for the protection of some particular pass, than as regular fortresses. It shews us, however, the fearful insecurity under which men lived at that time, while we see that every ford, where a passage might be found for men and cattle, through the morasses with which the surface of the country was overspread, was occupied in this manner by a stronghold. There are traces of this kind at Dodleston, at Pulford, at Aldford, at Holt, at Shotwick, besides the larger and more distinguished holds at Beeston, Halton, Chester, and Hawarden; and probably few years passed but that some inroad of the Welsh carried fire and slaughter to the very gates of Chester, and swept the cattle and the produce from the fields. In those days, therefore, the streets of Chester must have often echoed with the clang of armour and the trampling of horses; while the scene described in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" was repeated in consequence of the raids of our Welsh neighbours, or when the pride of the Norman Baron exacted a tenfold vengeance on the Welsh borderers, for the wrong done to his vassals, by desolating all the country between us and the mountains of Wales. The Welsh name for the suburb of *Handbridge*, or *Beyond-bridge*, which is still denominated the Burnt City, bears record to the insecurity of those times; and if our antiquarian inquiries did nothing more than lead us to compare the tranquillity and prosperity which overspreads the beautiful and extensive valley which is seen from our City Walls, with the scenes which the citizens of Chester beheld, and were accustomed to behold, during the 12th and 13th centuries, they would have conferred an inestimable benefit in teaching us to appreciate the mercies we enjoy, and in leading us to gratitude for the change we are permitted to witness. During all this period, however, Chester must have been a scene of never-failing excitement and of continued interest. It was the entrance to the northern part of the Principality; and within its walls must have been collected the armies which gradually effected the subjugation of Wales, and annexed it to the Crown of England. Here must have been assembled the chivalry of England, as described by Gray in his Poem of the Bard, which accompanied the first Edward in that expedition which crushed the power of the Principality. To this City Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, Edmund de Mortimer, Lord of

Wigmore, the Lords Marchers, were doubtless summoned to accompany their Sovereign; and here they must have come with all the multitude of their retainers; and from these gates must have issued the long array of force which was to carry conquest on its banners. The Castles of Flint, of Conway, of Carnarvon, are memorials of the successful issue of that contest. They were raised to their present magnitude for the purpose of consolidating the victory that had been gained. They are thus intimately connected with the early history of Chester, and may with propriety be included in the researches of our Association. In the civil wars which arose from the rival claims of the Houses of York and Lancaster, it appears that Chester shared less than might have been expected; and we may hope that during that period, when so many of the first families of England perished either in the field or on the scaffold, and the Midland Counties were depopulated and laid waste by war, our ancient City was left to cultivate the arts of peace, and to strengthen that union with the Principality which has constituted the source and security of the common prosperity. We may collect the evidence of this conjecture and of their zeal for religion, by the foundation or enlargement of those religious houses which once formed the glory of the City, and which even in their ruin constitute one of its principal attractions.

We may ascribe, therefore, to this period, those beautiful specimens of early English architecture which arrest the eye in the vestibule to the Chapter-house, and which may be traced again in the bonded cellars in Watergate-street, as well as in the Chapel recently brought to public notice by the care and good taste of Messrs. Powell and Edwards.

During the same period, or at least during the latter part of it, the fabric of the Cathedral was carried on towards that degree of completion which it seems to have reached in the reign of Henry VIII; and as the munificence and taste of our ancestors were as generally directed towards works which were aimed at the glory of God, as those of the present day. are turned to promote the accommodation of man, we may infer that the extent and dignity of the buildings belonging to the Abbey of St. Werburgh bore some proportion to the Cathedral which formed its Abbey Church; and that the court exhibited a scene of no ordinary splendour when the Abbey gates were opened to receive the trains of the illustrious visitors who from time to time were welcomed there, and partook in the splendid hospitality of the lordly Abbot. These splendors, however, were not doomed to last long. The wealth of the monasteries had excited the covetousness of the Sovereign. Their pomp had offended the pride of the aristocracy; and even the people could not be blinded by their lavish charity to the errors which they countenanced in religion. It is painful to read, or to imagine, the ruthless violence and wanton waste with which the measures of the Reformation were carried into effect; and we must

long mourn for what we lost on that occasion, while we rejoice in what we gained. Of the Abbey of St. Werburgh little now remains but the gateway, and the offices which have been recently brought to light; but the ruins, which form a group of singular beauty at the east end of St. John's Church, bear a melancholy testimony to what the Abbey of St. John must have been, when its buildings crowned the rocky bank above the river, and the space below was occupied with the Abbey gardens. The opposite bank was probably then covered with forest as far as the eye reached; while down the river, the view met with no interruption but such as the bridge and its castellated approaches offered, and included in its distance the blue range of the Welsh mountains. While recognizing to the largest extent the blessings of the Reformation, believing that it was the source of civil as well as of religious liberty; and that the present proud position of England arises from the effort then made by mind to burst the bonds in which it had been held; admitting all this, it is impossible to deny that the work of reformation was often urged forward by motives of a baser kind than the love of truth; and it is impossible not to regret the unsparing zeal and brutal violence with which it was carried on. How beautiful a scene might the valley of the Dee have presented at this moment, if the conventual buildings of St. John's had been allowed to remain, though turned to other purposes! How much the beauty and even the health of the City would have been promoted, if the Cathedral had stood surrounded with the spacious court of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, and no encroachment had been permitted on its precincts! How much would the view from our northern walls have been improved, if, instead of the unsightly object of the crowded burial ground of St. Oswald's Churchyard, the Cathedral had been seen rising from native turf, and among tufted trees; and revealing the rich proportions of its southern transept, through a vista of foliage!

Another period, however, was to come, in which Chester was again to be mixed up in the strife of arms, and when deep and mournful interests were to be included in its history. The siege of Chester forms a conspicuous feature in the civil wars; and that tablet on the Phœnix Tower, which arrests the attention of the passers by, by its simple record of the scene that was once contemplated from its summit, carries the mind back to that eventful crisis in our country's state, when the ancient notions of prerogative sank under the rising consciousness of power in the people; and a new era in our constitution was to take its rise.

The incidents of this time will never be forgotten while England lives, but they will never be remembered with more of local association than in Chester. We can still imagine the groups that filled our streets, or that manned the line of walls at the eventful period. Pictures, with which we are all familiar, bring before us the form of the gallant Cavalier,

who quitted the comforts of his rural home to obey the summons of his King, and who supplied the want of military knowledge by courage and self-devotion. We can fancy our Rows filled with throngs, where the leather jerkin which had taken the place of the coat of mail, the plumed hat, the ample boots, the jingling spurs must have marked the officer. We can fancy the black skull cap, the pike, the heavy match-lock which formed the equipment of the soldier; and we can conceive how they lined the wall, or prepared to meet the escalades, wherever a breach had been effected by the enemy's artillery. Here, if any where, the portrait which imagination conjures up, may be seen in its proper setting; and the scene and circumstance harmonize with the picture. Such then, I may say, is the character of the place to which our Association belongs; and the slight and hasty sketch I have given of its peculiarities must shew you at once the advantages we enjoy, and the numerous objects of interest that surround us. To live on such a spot, and not to be touched by its associations; to close the eye on forms which arrest the attention of every stranger; to be careless and indifferent to facts which are enrolled in history; and to be ignorant on points which awaken the curiosity of every traveller, would betoken a dulness of mind, or a deadness of heart, which would be disgraceful. We are willing to suppose, and it is a gladdening and grateful conception, that an increasing activity of intellect is a feature of the time in which we live. We look back with shame and regret on the illiterate habits and gross excess of former days, and may well be thankful for the change that has been effected in those respects. But it behoves us to see that the taste of the rising generation is properly directed; and that subjects which ennoble as well as enrich the mind, which shall exercise the reason, while they feed the fancy; which shall give a manly and intellectual tone even to our hours of relaxation, be kept before the public, and be made the topics of general inquiry. I am not going to claim any exclusive prerogative for the studies connected with this Association, though I am addressing antiquarians. I do not deny the titles which Science in all its branches possesses to your notice. I do not deny the value of the Fine Arts, the advantage which may be derived from their cultivation, or the grace which their possession throws over the humblest circumstances of life. I feel, indeed, that their value is so fully appreciated, that an apology is due for advocating a cause which may seem to trespass on their domain, and to draw attention from that which is present and practical to that which is imaginative and past. My apology, however, must be brief, for I feel that the individuals whom I have the honour of addressing are free from all the exclusive bigotry of taste, and are disposed to make their antiquarian researches as useful as possible by including every branch of antiquarian investigation. I may be, however, permitted to say, that I conceive our local history will be

cultivated with a degree of attention which it would be vain to expect from the general historian, when it is made the subject of associated research, and that facts, which may have a very important bearing on the public welfare, may be brought to light by inquiry, when that inquiry becomes more concentrated as to its object, and is quickened by the influence of local recollections. In this way I trust that the region of historical knowledge may be amplified; and what is a more certain and more obvious good, even if the region of history be not enlarged, the number of persons who think and meditate, and are improved and enlightened by the knowledge of history, may be increased. I conceive that in the same way, correct notions on the subject of architecture will be formed and propagated; and that the improvement of the City, and the restoration of those buildings, for which we are indebted to our ancestors, will be carried out on principles which shall ensure general approbation. We are not aware in general how much economy is consulted by taste in such questions. There are harmonies in form which commend themselves to the eye, and satisfy the mind of the spectator, but which are only understood by diligent attention to the principles on which they are founded. While these harmonies are observed, the simplest form pleases. The beauty of proportion supersedes all other wants. The eye is satisfied, it knows not why; and we are surprised at the effect produced by a work which has cost so little. On the other hand, if ignorance in the builder has missed these advantages, we find that the most elaborate embellishments only add to the original deformity, and wonder is felt that a building which has cost so much should please so little. It is possible that those principles on which so much depends may be ascertained through the study of geometry; and men may find reasons for the effect produced by certain external proportions, through some hidden analogy in forms. But in general, the easiest and the safest way of arriving at those results is to learn them from the practice of others, and if we are conscious that there are works which affect us almost universally in the same way, it is well to study the beauty of proportion in the models we possess, rather than to aim at forming systems of our own by a series of conjectural experiments. If this course had been pursued during the last century; if our architects had been actuated by that feeling of veneration for their fathers in the art, which it is the object of antiquarian study to excite: if they had studied the vestiges of early taste which existed among us, and endeavoured to restore and to preserve what they ought to have admired, instead of inventing and altering, I need hardly remind you of the different appearance which our City would have presented. Much that was interesting, and beautiful, and appropriate would have been preserved. Much that is absurd, and hideous, and inconsistent would have been spared. Our streets might have exhibited a scene

which should have drawn visitors from every country, and the City would have attracted the notice of the accomplished and learned by the objects of interest included within its walls. Even now, there is much that may be done. An increase of knowledge on the subjects before us, will lead to a general development of taste and right feeling; and a skilful improvement of the advantages that we still possess may lead to such results as no one, perhaps, ventures to anticipate at present. If I wished for an example of such a progress, I would ask you to recollect what the state of the Cathedral was, both external and internal, but a very few years ago, and compare your recollection with that which you behold. Compare the state of St. Werburgh's-lane with the ruinous workshops which obstructed the passage, and cut off all view of the magnificent south transept, with that spacious well-formed area that now gives dignity and light to the approach. Compare the interior of the choir, with its walls plastered by tasteless monuments, its space encumbered by box-lik sittings; its east end darkened by the tapestry which seemed to wonder at the place it was promoted to; its wooden pulpit, its dull glazed windows: compare this I say, which we may all remember, with the choir as you see it now; with its groined and vaulted roof, the brilliant light poured through the coloured glass, the appropriate sittings, the beautiful pulpit, where modern art seems to have rivalled ancient skill. Compare the two together, and while you see what the combination of taste and liberality can effect, learn to anticipate the results that may follow, if a kindred spirit can be awakened generally, and that be done for the City which we see has been done in the Cathedral. I would venture to add, that suggestions such as these, which are certain of being received with favour in an Antiquarian Society, may be urged on other minds, on other principles, and may be recommended on utilitarian grounds. Every thing that embellishes our City increases its attractions. The diffusion of taste, the multiplied facilities for travelling, the interest taken by all who speak the English language, whether in this hemisphere or the other, in the antiquities of English history, will always render Chester a place of resort for travellers; and those who are drawn hither by curiosity may be tempted to prolong their stay, or to repeat their visit, if they find their curiosity met by the intelligence and taste of the inhabitants. Our local advantages led Sir Charles Napier to make this his residence, while in command of the district. The local interest thus formed, led him to select the Cathedral as the place for the memorial of his gallant nephew and son-in-law, Captain Napier; and the same influence may operate more forcibly on those who inherit the association as with their own birth-place. We have already seen one distinguished individual leaving the highest situation in the Government of India, and delighting to retrace the haunts of his childhood, and to compare the splendours of Agra or Delhi with

the long drawn aisle and dim religious light of our Cathedral. Other individuals, natives of the county, holding high commands, and pursuing the same course of glory, may be drawn by the same gentle tie to a place enshrined in their memories; and Chester may obtain, through the medium of those arts, which refine and elevate the mind, what the scenes of commerce and manufacture cannot retain with all the indulgences they offer. But whatever may be the result with regard to others, I can feel no doubt as to what the effect may be upon ourselves. The words of our great moralist, Dr. Johnson, have been already quoted to this Association, and their moral truth as well as their beauty abundantly justify their repetition. "To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured; and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and my friends," he continues in a more exalted tone, "far from me and my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, learning, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." If these were the conclusions to which he was conducted by that philosophy which surveys the moral character of man in general, and comprehends its inmost workings, we surely are justified in anticipating the same results where the recollections of bygone days are associated with ourselves, and the place we call our home rises up enriched with the memory of the past. Our walls have a language which may be read, if our eyes are but open to read it; and while we see the records of the piety, the faith, the hospitality of our forefathers in the buildings that they reared, we may hope that their posterity will profit by the lesson; learn to copy their habits while they imitate their buildings, and rejoice in that antiquarian taste which enabled them to understand and feel the lesson that was thus bequeathed to us.

On the Course of the River Dee.

BY JOHN WILLIAMS, ESQUIRE,

MAYOR OF CHESTER.

Read at the Meeting of the Society, April 1, 1850.

IF I have erred in selecting a subject which some may think not sufficiently within the scope of an Archæological and Historical Society, I have only to crave your pardon for the offence, and to make the only amends in my power by detaining you as short a time as possible from more congenial subjects.

The name of the Dee is borne by a small stream which runs into the great Lake at Bala, in Merionethshire, at its western extremity; but the river assumes so different a character on its emerging from the Lake at its eastern end, that it is ordinarily considered to take its rise there. The Lake derives its waters from the lofty hills which surround it, but its surface is so extensive that it takes many hours of heavy rain to raise its level a few inches and to swell the *tide* of the Dee. This occasionally causes a somewhat curious state of things. Half a mile below the Lake the Dee is joined in the meadows by the Treweryn, that beautiful stream which those who have visited Bala must have noticed, as they cross it emerging from Mr. Price's grounds at the entrance into the town. The Treweryn running rapidly down steep channels from precipitous mountains becomes swollen immediately after a fall of rain, and when it joins the Dee in the meadows so swells the waters of the latter as to turn them for some hours refluent into the Lake.

We must not quit the Lake without a word as to its name, or rather its names. In Welsh it is called Tegid Lake, a name probably as ancient as its waters, and no less difficult to trace to its origin. Its English appellation, Pimblemere, admits of an easier solution. The Lake being the great feature of the country gives names to every thing around it. The hundred in which it is situated is called Penllyn (the head of the Lake), and the five parishes of which it is composed take their names from the top, the side, the margin of the Lake, &c., and taken collectively they are called the "five parishes of Penllyn;" in Welsh, with its characteristic alliteration, "pum plwy Penllyn." Some ingenious Saxon admiring the

euphony of the sobriquet, converted it into a name for the Lake. and called it Pimblemere—the Lake of five parishes.

The Dee having passed along the beautiful Vale of Edernion, enters a little below Corwen a bolder and more glen-like valley, called Glyndwrdu, once the domain of the hero immortalized in story as Owain Glyndwr. Here we must pause for a while. You will I fear think that, like Mr. Shandy, I have been somewhat long in naming my child, but I wanted the water of Glyndwrdu before I could do this.

Welsh names of places are almost universally descriptions rather than arbitrary names, and such is peculiarly the case in this instance. Whoever has travelled the road between Corwen and Llangollen, cannot have failed to remark, as he looked down on the wizard stream, the very peculiar blackness of its waters. This appearance may be owing partly to the water deriving a dark tinge from the extensive mountain turbaries which supply it, but it is chiefly to be attributed to the steepness and height of the adjacent mountains, which prevent us from seeing the sky reflected in the surface of the river. Hence the very natural and simple name of the river—Afon dwr du—river, water, black. The abode of Owain is Glyn dwr du—the glen of the black water. As we come down the river, the glen expands into a valley or a *nant*, and here it is called Nant wy du, the valley of the black water—*wy* or *gwy* being another word for water, very common in the names of places. I could give scores of instances, but we need not go far from Chester for one. The brook at Stamford Bridge, a favourite meeting-place of the fox-hunters, is by them very aptly called the Goey; but it was called Gwy by my countrymen long before Nimrod got his pack together.

Thus it is that, whether in glen or valley, the waters of our river retain their distinctive name of *du* (black). Modern nomenclators translate old names as in the case of a cousin german of our river, the Dulas, near Abergele, which they have called "black and blue." The Romans, like sensible men, handed the name down as they found it—the Du—with the digamma Deva. Had they adopted the translating system, we should have been at this moment, *horresco referens*, establishing an Archæological Society on the banks, not of the Dee, but of the Niger.

Black as our stream is, it receives in its course the waters of two white ones. The Alwen (*wen* or *wyn* meaning white) runs into it near Rug, and derives its whiteness from the rapidity of its course through a rocky district. The name of the other, the Alyn, seems to be a corruption of the same word, and is descriptive of the very peculiarly thick and milky appearance of the water of that river.

Neither is ours the only river that continues to bear the Celtic name which denotes its blackness. There are in Scotland at least two Dees, one in the North and one in Kirkcudbright. The name of a third

requires some explanation. I have stated that the Vale of Llangollen is called from our river the Valley of Black Water—Nant gwy du—and I believe that Gwy du was the ancient name of what is now called the Tweed. I am led to this opinion from having been informed by an old gentleman whom I knew in early life, and who was a native of the region of the Tweed, that when he was a boy the lower classes in that country used to call the river, not the Tweed but the Queed, which is evidently the same as the Celtic Gwy du, or black water.

But we have left the sable nymph of our river in the dark shades of Glyndwrdu, and it is time to conduct her towards Chester. I leave it to others to treat in detail of the numberless objects of nature and of art, physical and moral, ancient and modern, which are connected with the Dee and its valley, The genius of the times has, however, brought about one or two contrasts to which I cannot help drawing your attention. Compare, for instance, old Glyndwr and his daughter, Lady Mortimer, with the modern heroines of the Valley, Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Ponsonby. Here behold the Abbey of Valle Crucis—founded for the calm repose of holy men having renounced the world with its cares and toils—there a cotton-twist factory. Among the works of art we have Castell Dinas Bran, built with inconceivable labour, and reminding us of the toil of Sisyphus,—

> With many a weary step, and many a groan,
> Up a high hill he heaves a huge round stone.

Its object was to defend the pass, and keep the hated Saxon at a distance. Near it there is a work of yesterday, Robertson's stupendous Viaduct, built to improve and facilitate the intercourse between Wales and the same Saxons; and so ingeniously did the designer of this vast work apply the powers of mechanism to the laws of nature, that every stone was made to travel by its own weight from the quarry whence it was dug to the spot it now occupies in the building; so much more consonant to the laws of nature is the peaceful Viaduct than the frowning Castle.

On quitting its rocky channel through the valleys of Wales, the Dee becomes a sluggish and often a muddy stream from washing its own clayey banks, and receiving the turbid waters of cultivated fields. At Trefalyn, or Saxonicé Allington, it is joined by the Alyn. It is probable that at a period, the remoteness of which I will not pretend to estimate, the waters of the Alyn found their way to the sea, or perhaps found the sea itself in the low plain between Broughton (Brow-town), on the one side, and Eaton (Eye or Island-town), on the other. As soon as this space was freed from the overflowings of the Alyn, the tidal waters coming over it charged with sand from the ocean, and in times of flood with mud and silt from the Dee would, like those of the Humber, at each tide deposit

some portion of what they thus held in suspense. It is thus that what was anciently called the *Lac* by the Welsh, and the Lache with its eyes by the English on its border, was raised by degrees into the fertile plain which we now behold it.

When first I proposed it to myself to write a paper on the Dee, I intended continuing my remarks on its course from Chester to the sea. The subject has, however, become at the present moment practically too important to deal with as a matter of mere speculation. I must therefore forbear, and bring my observations to a close; and while I thank you for the patience with which you have borne with me, let me express a hope that the interesting discussions on this subject, which are agitating the public mind, may issue in the permanent advantage of all the parties so deeply engaged in them.

Christian Monuments.

BY JOHN HICKLIN.

Read at the Meeting of the Society, April 1st, 1850.

IT has been most justly remarked, that a very interesting volume might be written on Christian Monuments, not considering them, as Bloxam does, in the light of specimens of art; so much as tracing in them the feelings of successive centuries as to the state of the departed. Funeral rites have formed a part of the religious service of all ages and nations. The Jews paid the most solemn respect to the departed, committing the body to the tomb with long processions and every display of sorrow. To be deprived of sepulture was regarded as the height of misfortune, a calamity and an indignity. Thus in Psalm lxxix.—"O God! the heathen are come into Thine inheritance: Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones. The dead bodies of Thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the air: and the flesh of Thy servants unto the beasts of the land. Their blood have they shed like water on every side of Jerusalem: and there was no man to bury them." And again in Jeremiah xxxvi. 30—"Therefore thus saith the Lord God of Jehoiakim, king of Judah; He shall have none to sit upon

the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost." And again—"Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah: They shall not lament for him, *saying*, Ah, my brother! or, Ah, sister! they shall not lament for him, *saying*, Ah, Lord! or Ah, his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." While to see interment performed with becoming pomp and solemnity was a mark of the greatest affection. Thus in Genesis xxiii. "And Abraham stood up from before his dead, and spake unto the sons of Heth, saying, I *am* a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead. And Abraham stood up, and bowed himself to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth. And he communed with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight; hear me, and intreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar, that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for as much money as it is worth he shall give it me for a possession of a buryingplace amongst you." So early in the patriarchal history was land bought for the purpose of constructing a place of sepulture. The Jewish sepulchre was generally a cave, hewn out of a rock; but the modes of burial varied according to the rank of the deceased, for we read in 2 Kings xxiii. 6, of "the graves of the people;" and of the great respect shewn to distinguished persons we have an example in the funeral of Jacob, "And Joseph went up to bury his father, and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house and all the elders of the land of Egypt, and all the house of Joseph and his brethren, and his father's house; and there went up with him both chariots and horsemen, and it was a very great company." The first mention, in the Bible, of the erection of a memorial to the dead is in Genesis xxxv., "When Rachel died and was buried, Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; this is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day." In the record of the burial of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, we read that "she died and was buried beneath Bethel, under an oak;" which was thence called by a significant name, the oak of weeping. There is, therefore, very early authority for the various modes of sepulture which have been interwoven with the Christian system; but interesting as it would be to trace the different methods which obtained in the remoter ages of the world, time for such an inquiry does not now suffice. The Christian religion had been established in Britain for a very long period before

there appears to have prevailed any system of sepulchral commemoration of which indisputably authentic vestiges remain; and Mr. Boutell, in his able and elaborate work, inclines to the opinion, that the earliest Christian monuments must *for the most part* be assigned to the eleventh century. Relics of a much earlier date have doubtless been discovered here and there; but they must be regarded rather as the scanty traces of an obscure period than as examples of works known to have been in common use for a specific purpose, and at a definite time. In Wales, have assuredly been found inscribed stones intended as sepulchral memorials, and of a date and character which impart to them an important degree of interest, as records of almost the primitive ages of our national Church.

In the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, stone coffins were in general use for the interment of personages of rank and wealth; and being fixed upon the pavement of the Churches in which they were deposited, or so placed that the solid slabs which covered them formed a portion of the pavement itself, they were at once the resting-place of the remains of the deceased, and their monumental memorial. In the case of founders of Churches, these coffins are usually placed within a low recess formed in the Church wall. The coffins, which were sunk so far as to have only the lid exposed to view, were more or less roughly hewn from the block, and plain, with the exception of sculptured ornament upon the lid; and even in those cases where they were placed upon the pavement the sides were very rarely ornamented; but in particular instances the sculptor was employed to decorate the coffin more profusely. A most beautiful example of this practice exists in the coffin of the renowned Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, now preserved in the Church at Llanrwst, whither it was removed from Conway at the dissolution of the monasteries; but the lid is unfortunately lost. Equally interesting and elegant is the stone coffin of the Princess Joanna, wife of Llewellyn, and natural daughter of King John; this is the lady of whom tradition says that she was engaged in a romantic and tragical intrigue with William de Brewys, a youthful knight of a powerful English family, whom her husband had taken prisoner at the siege of Montgomery. If that were so, reconciliation must have followed guilt; for the Welsh Chieftain erected over her remains the Monastery of Llanvaes. On the dissolution of that religious house the coffin was removed, and at the commencement of the present century it was found with the slab downwards, in a field near the village where it had served for centuries as a watering trough; it is now carefully preserved in the park of Sir R. Bulkeley, at Baron Hill, near Beaumaris, where the slab again lies upon the stone coffin, the carving upon which, owing to the reversed position in which it was found, being quite sharp and fresh. These coffins were sculptured about the year 1240. In that of the

Princess Joanna, the lower part of the slab is entirely covered with foliated tracery, in the style so highly characteristic of the period: the branches all issue from a central stem, and are curiously interlaced, the stem itself being seized by the mouth of a winged dragon. Above, and rising from out of this tracery, is represented the head of the Princess supported upon a pillow, with her upraised hands, not clasped in accordance with the prevalent custom, but lying spread open upon her breast. The head-gear is a wimple surmounted by a bandeau of jewels; and over all is a coverchef or flowing veil, which falls in ample folds upon the shoulders. The tunic is plain, and a circular morse fastens it at the throat.

The great Christian symbol, the Cross, though introduced into the decoration of monumental stones in the eleventh century, was not generally adopted till the close of the succeeding century. From that period, till the modern age of monumental debasement, some modification of the Cross was almost invariably placed upon all sepulchral memorials, such a repetition, however, of the same design as to render two examples perfectly similar is of very rare occurrence; variety in their designs appears indeed to have been regarded by the medieval artists as a no less important element than beauty and appropriateness. In the earliest times we have plain coped stones, marked only with a floriated Cross, often terminating in elaborate floral wreaths, and teaching us thereby that the Cross, once the mark of shame and ignominy, is now the symbol of glory; and that its lifeless arms have blossomed abundantly and brought forth the fruit of our salvation. No name was then ensculptured on the tomb, all that its tenant in his life-time wished was that his fellow-creatures should see in what his hopes were founded, and knowing that "when he died he could carry nothing away, neither could his pomp follow him," he cared not that his honours and his titles should be transmitted to posterity.

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour;
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

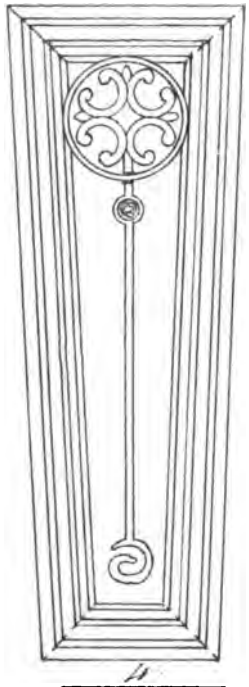
"Can storied urn, or animated bust,
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can Honour's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or Flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death?"

By degrees, however, the practice of adding a brief inscription to the Cross symbol, as + *Hic jacet Ranulphus*, and others of a like character obtained; and the Cross sometimes with, and sometimes without a legend, was accompanied by some emblem of the rank or vocation of the deceased;

GRAVE STONES.

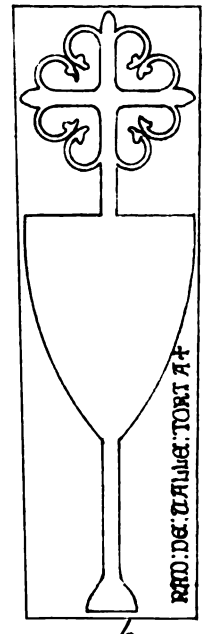
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Chester Cathedral,



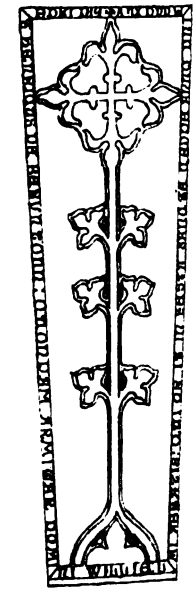
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Chester Cathedral,

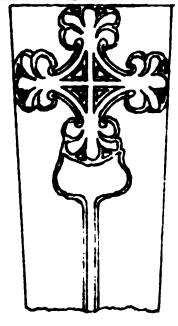


3.

St. Oswalds Church Yard Chester.

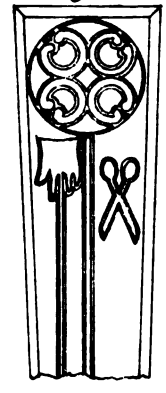


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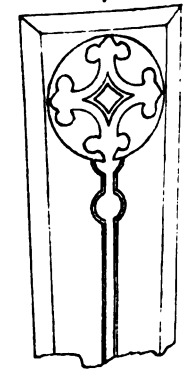
St. Oswalds Church Yard,

6.



St. Johns Church,

7.



St. Johns Church,



Jas. Harrison. del.

a knightly tomb was marked with a sword, as if merely suggestive to the thoughtful spectator of the quaint ejaculation,

> Their swords are rust,
> Their bones are dust,
> Their souls are with the saints, we trust.

Thus a pastoral staff indicated a bishop; a chalice, paten and book, a priest; a bow and bugle-horn, a woodman; a square, an architect or mason; a pair of shears, a wool-merchant; an axe, a carpenter; shields of arms and other heraldic insignia were in like manner occasionally introduced.

A more expanded class of emblematical devices also came into use: thus a model of a church denotes the founder or a benefactor; the emblems of the four evangelists at the angles of a monumental composition, signify that the individual lived and died in communion with the Church; the triumph of the Church is proclaimed by a crosier or pastoral staff thrusting down the head of a dragon; the fostering care with which the Church is cherished by its Divine Head, and a reliance upon that care is beautifully conveyed under the figure of the pelican feeding the young within her nest with her own blood; and once more, a trust in the sustaining power of our religion even in death is set forth by angels being represented as smoothing and supporting the pillows upon which rests the head of a recumbent effigy, and watching the tranquil sleep of the faithful.

(Rubbings of Christian Memorials in Chester, which had been taken by Mr. James Harrison for the purpose of illustrating this paper, were exhibited and explained, among which were the following:—

1 Coffin lid in the arch in the south wall of the Choir of Chester Cathedral.

2. A slab in the south transept of Chester Cathedral with raised cross and shield, inscribed RAD : DE : VALLE : TORTA +.

3. Incised slab in St. Oswald's Churchyard, inscribed on the edge of the stone, "Here lies Henry de Bebynton, formerly armour-bearer of Lord William the Abbot, who died on the feast of St. Chad, in the year of our Lord 1345."

4. Fragment of an incised stone in St. Oswald's Churchyard.

5. Ditto ditto ditto

6. Incised stone in St. John's Church, cross, glove, wand and scissors.

7. Ditto ditto

8. Semi-effigy stone in St. John's Church, inscribed, "Here lies Agnes, wife of Richard de Ridelegh, who died on the Sabbath-day next before the Feast of St. Philip and James."

9. Slab of Purbeck marble in St. John's Church, with raised cross, edges moulded.

10. Slab of Purbeck marble in St. John's Church, with raised cross, edges moulded.

11. Incised slab in St. John's Church, north transept, inscribed Johannes le Serjavn.

12. A small incised stone in St. John's Church.

13. A fragment of an incised stone ditto.

14. Ditto ditto ditto

15. Ditto ditto ditto, with a base of a cross, and a portion of a chalice and book.

16. Fragment of an upright stone, St. John's.

17. Ditto ditto ditto

18. Ditto ditto ditto

19. A monumental brass in St. Peter's Church.)

No. 6 in the foregoing list is thus noticed in the Rev. C. Boutell's book of Christian Monuments:—"In the place of shears, scissors have been occasionally observed upon monumental stones. Thus, in the Church of St. John, in the City of Chester, lies a slab which bears a cross placed between the figures of scissors and of a glove elevated upon a slender rod; and thus, with all simplicity, yet clearly and expressively, is denoted both the religious faith and the worldly calling of some glover—a citizen, perhaps in his day not inferior in wealth and importance to the father of the Fair Catherine of Sir Walter Scott's Maid of Perth, but whose name now has long passed away and been forgotten."

No. 8 is also thus described by the same author;—"In the Church of St. John, in the City of Chester, is another slab, which is partly flat, and covered with flowing foliage, executed in low relief, and in part is cut away in order to disclose to the view a sculptured semi-effigy. The upper portion of the stone, including the figure, that of a female, is much worn and injured; but the lower part is more perfect. The tracery and the border-legend within which it is contained being still sharp and distinct, with the exception of a few letters only of the legend. This inscription runs thus: + HIC . IACET . AGNES . VXOR . RICI . DE . RIDELEGH . QUÆ . OBIIT . DIE . SABBATI . PXI . AN . FM . PHI . ET . IACOB . A.....CCX.... Here lies Agnes, wife of Richard de Ridelegh, who died on the Sabbath-day next before the Feast of Philip and James the Apostles."

Of No. 15 I may remark that in living memory the chalice on the slab, indicative of a priest, has been described by a local guide to inquisitive strangers as a poison cup, engraved upon the monument to denote the grave of a murdered person!

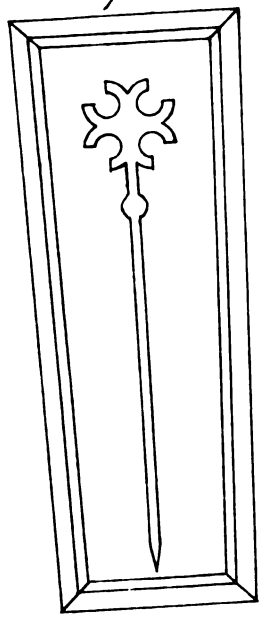
Some of the recumbent effigies which the tombs of former days exhibit, are eminently beautiful; there is in the cold alabaster face, an expression of heavenly repose which sculptors in these times for the most part miss; it is more remarkably the case in female faces than in male, though in a

GRAVE STONES AT St IOHNS CHVRCH CHESTER.

8.



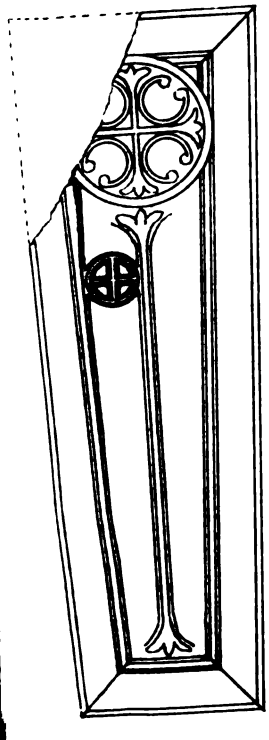
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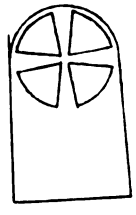
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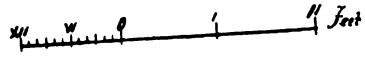


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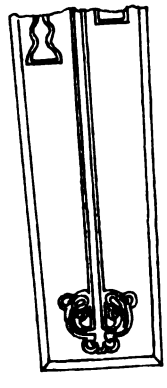


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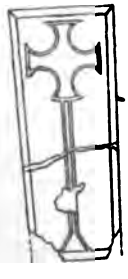




15.



12.



Jas Yeates. Del.

priest's countenance we sometimes find an inexpressible sweetness and dignity. There is something so completely removed from all earthly associations in the very recumbent posture. It does not represent sleep, for the face is full of intelligence and hope; it does not represent death, for the hands are clasped, and the whole figure is self-supported; it seems to point to another state of being as real as this, and yet differing from it, in having none of the harassing cares and every-day troubles of a sublunary state—"a better country, that is an heavenly"* And it may here be remarked, that in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, it would be difficult to find epitaphs to which the most fastidious taste could object. I mean as to reverent or devout modes of expression, because I have no wish to enter into a defence or theological discussion of the doctrine implied in the *Orate pro anima*, and similar sentiments. Even that seducer of our Elizabethan writers a pun was managed by our ancestors of those times always with beauty, sometimes with dignity. In a Kentish epitaph on one Palmer:—

"*Palmers* all our fathers were,
I a *Palmer* lived here,
And traveyld sore, till worn with age,
I ended this world's pilgrimage,
On the blest Ascension Day
In the cheerful month of May,
One thousand with three hundred seven,
And took my journey hence to heaven."

Another example is of a much later date, and commemorates the munificent London merchant, Lambe:—

"O *Lambe* of God, Who sin dost take away,
And, like a *Lambe*, was offered up for sin,
While I, poore *Lambe*, from out Thy flock did stray;
Yet Thou, good Lord, vouchsafe Thy *Lambe* to win
Back to Thy fold, and hold Thy *Lambe* therein.
That at the daye, which *Lambes* and goats shall sever,
Of Thy choice *Lambes*, *Lambe* may be one for ever!"

And so an epitaph on one Stocke runs thus, or to this effect:—

"The *Stocke* you see, though now a sapless root,
Shall rise and flourish, and in Heav'n bear fruit."

The system of punning was probably an amplification of the devices which were used in very early ages to denote the names of the deceased by means of a rebus, or hieroglyphic. Thus in Yorkshire a sepulchral slab bearing two *bows* in addition to the cross, the sword, and the bugle-horn, marks the grave of some member of the De Bowes' family. On the grave-stone of Robert Thornton, once Abbot of Jervaulx, there are the mitre and staff, the sacred monogram, and the initial letters R. T., with a

* Hierologus.

tun or cask, to form a rebus with the branches of a thorn—*Thornton*. In the monumental effigy of Humphrey Newton, of Wilmslow, in Cheshire, the head is supported by three *tuns*.

Contrasted with the old, the modern punning systems lose both in point and reverent spirit. The following was written by the Rev. H. St. J. Bullen, Vicar of Dunton, Bucks, on the death of a well-known driver of a coach that ran between Aylesbury and London :—

"Parker, farewell! thy *journey* now is ended,
Death has the *whip-hand*, and with *dust* thou'rt blended.
Thy *way-bill* is examined, and I trust
Thy last *account* may prove exact and just:
When He who rules the *chariot* of the day,
Where life is light; whose word the *living-way*,
Where *travellers* like yourself, of every age
And every clime, have taken their *last stage*;
The God of mercy, and the God of love,
Shew you the road to paradise above!"

On the sea coast you find epitaphs of the same kind, but in nautical terms. This one is to be seen in Great Neston Churchyard, in Cheshire, and is but one out of many :—

"Though Boreas' blasts and Neptune's waves
Have tost me to and fro,
In spite of both, by God's decree,
I'm harbour'd here below.
Here at anchor I do lie,
With many of our fleet;
In hopes for to set sail again
Our Saviour Christ to meet."

An able writer argues that we see the decline of Christian art in monuments sooner than in any thing else. The fretwork of the canopy becomes meaningless, the tracery at the sides very elaborate but very poor, the figures become stiff, till at length for the semi-Gothic canopy of Edward VI., we have the Corinthian pillars and entablature of Queen Elizabeth's time. Painting was practised to a great extent, and some specimens of gilding and decoration on sepulchral monuments are gorgeous and striking; others both tawdry and offensive.

About the middle of the seventeenth century we come to mural slabs, which, dropping the effigy altogether, give only an eulogium on the person represented; and at the same date we have the introduction of those singularly ugly monuments which represent the deceased as leaning on his elbow, "*as if*," says Ford, "*they died o' the tooth-ache*." One of this description of rather an ambitious character stands in the north aisle of St. Mary's in Chester. The monuments during the great Rebellion are scarcely worth mentioning; the kneeling posture continues, though the figures turn their backs upon the altar, and it is almost an invariable

rule that the parties are said to have been buried, not to have died. As a curious historical illustration of the temper of the times, it is recorded that I. H. S. in a cross at Balstonborough, in Somersetshire, is a rare, if not an entirely unique example at that period of Church and Crown-hating democracy.

The bad taste of those days infected succeeding generations; and our churches and burial-grounds unfortunately now exhibit sepulchral characteristics and obituary memorials sadly inconsistent with the genius of Christianity. As Dr. Johnson well argued, "We should exclude from our epitaphs," (and we will add from our monuments,) "all such allusions as are contrary to the doctrines, for the propagation of which the churches are erected;" hence the epitaph on the Poet Cowley, wherein the divinities or muses that favoured him in life are brought to watch over his tomb, Johnson justly condemned as uninstructive and unaffecting, as too ludicrous for reverence or grief, for Christianity and a temple. The designs and decorations of monuments also ought to be in strict character with the solemnity of the place; hence it is not easy to imagine a greater absurdity than that of gracing the walls of a Christian temple with the figure of Mars leading a hero to battle, or Cupids sporting round a virgin.* It is, however, gratifying to find that a more intelligent and reverent spirit with regard to Christian sepulture is extending; and pious and thoughtful minds are no longer contented with the class of monuments which Pagans, rather than Christians, might have introduced into our churches and churchyards, where every thing that is haughty and worldly, faithless and heretical, irreverent, jocose, and ridiculous, has been adopted with reference to our obituary memorials. We are awaking now to a sense of their impropriety: and it is to be hoped that all who have influence and authority in these matters will seek to guide public opinion into a more seemly and devout respect for the solemn proprieties of Christian burial. "In those cases, where an inscription is desired, it would be well for the relatives of the deceased to consult a clergyman or some discreet friend in its preparation: the more simple and pious in its expression the better; and if this course were taken, not only would many offences against good taste, right feeling, and religious truth be avoided, but the clergy would be spared the painful necessity of resorting to the exercise of that power, which they possess, of excluding all objectionable monuments and memorials. In strict matter of law, the erection of any monument is a question for the decision of the Ordinary, subject to an appeal to the Metropolitan of the Province; yet custom seems to have assigned the exercise of this discretion to the Incumbent for the time being, certainly to no inferior authority." There is one mode of recording with fit reverence and affection our respect for the departed

* Dr. Johnson, his Religious Life and Death.

on which we have only time to offer a passing allusion; I mean a memorial which adds some useful or ornamental feature to the church, or provides some article of furniture or decoration for its services; on which is affixed a suitable inscription denoting them as offerings in memory of the deceased—a mode of commemoration more useful to the living and more directly to the honour of God, than the once fashionable method of plastering the walls with the cold, unsightly and unmeaning slabs still too prevalent. In this class of memorials Chester happily presents us with some modern examples of a gratifying character:—the restoration of the episcopal throne by the Rev. Canon Slade as a testimonial to the memory of his deceased relative, Bishop Law; the obituary windows of Dean Anson's family in the south aisle of the Cathedral Choir; and the Churchwardens' seat of beautifully carved oak, erected as a memorial of the Currie family, in St. Mary's Church. Incidentally too we may mention, as a beautiful illustration of another most interesting kind of sepulchral memorials, the elegant and well devised brass on the floor of the Lady Chapel, over the grave of the Venerable Archdeacon Wrangham—an exquisite specimen of good taste and fine workmanship, with an inscription, the "*Expectans Dominum*," of which is an impressive echo of the devout spirit and phraseology of Christian faith and hope. But how frequently have we to lament the flippant and irreverent, nay, the absurd and grotesque style of many epitaphs, which have been admitted into our churchyards. The following is a specimen of ill-feeling conveyed in the same kind of way, and is to be found in St. Weonard's churchyard, in the county of Hereford:—

"Life is a city full of crooked streets,
Death is the market-place where all men meets.
If life were merchandise that man could buy,
The rich would live, and all the poor would die."

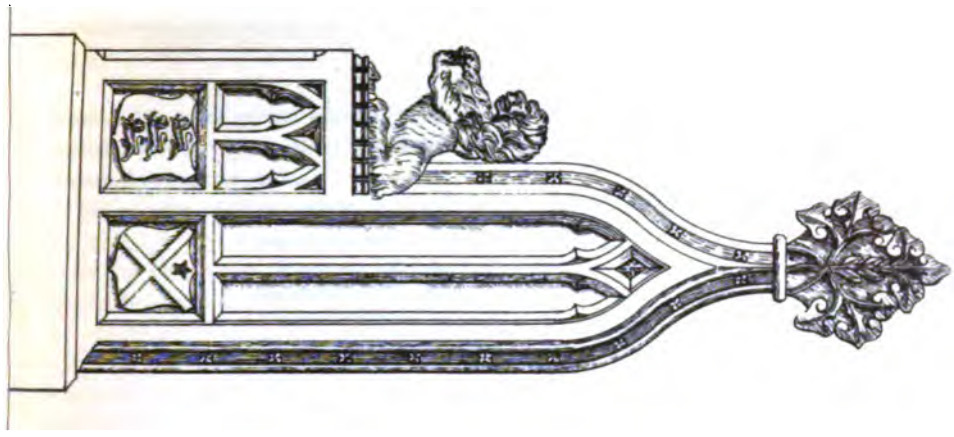
Take another, on a poor man buried *outside* a church:—

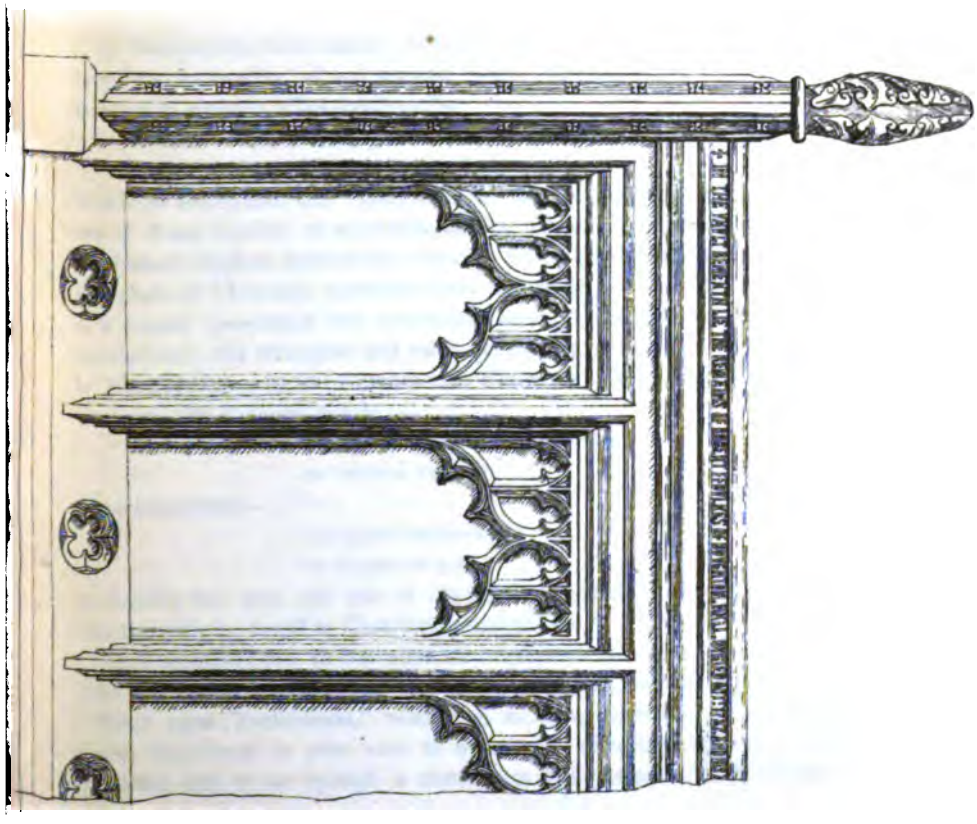
"Here lies I, at the church door:
Here lies I, because I's poor!
The further you go, the more you pay:
Here lies I, as warm as they!"

Here is an epitaph which from its frequency must be in high favour:—

"Afflictions sore, long time I bore,
Physichiones was in vain;
Till God did please, from death to seize,
And ease me of my pain."

Contrast with this doggerel, which really occurs in almost every variety of rendering in many churchyards of this neighbourhood, an inscription at Wouldham, in Kent. The churchyard slopes abruptly down to the Medway: the stream runs very swiftly, and its gurgling may be distinctly heard as you wander among the graves. At the top of the brow is a





✠ A SEXT RECENTLY ERECTED IN ST MARYS' CHVRCH, CHESTER.

INSCRIPTION,

✠ IN THE VAVLT BENEATH LIE THE REMAINS OF ROBERT FFOULKES OF BOUGHTON-HALL. BVRIED OCTR 1751. AND HIS ANCESTORS.
✠ ALSO SVSANNA HIS WIFE 1797. ✠ SVSANNA HIS DAVGHTER 1825. AND MARY THE WIFE OF WM CVRRIE M:D:1873. WHOSE DAVGHTERS ELIZABETH AND IONE ERECTED THIS SEXT FOR THE VSE OF THE PARISH A:D:1850.

memorial to some person who died after a long and painful illness. The text chosen is, "Thou shalt forget thy misery; and remember it as the waters that pass away."

Let us take another sample or two of the "popular" kind:—

"Beneath this stone a matron lies,
Who fraud and flattery did despise;
And though to all that's good inclined,
Of vice she boldly spoke her mind.
She hated idleness and pride,
Industrious lived, respected died."

"I've lost the comfort of my life,
Death came, and took away my wife:
And now I don't know what to do,
Lest death should come and take me too."

In Nottinghamshire stands, or stood a few years since, a grave-stone thus commemorative of an ancient dame, who, at all events, was no believer in modern "Tee-totalism:"—

"She drank good punch, good ale, and wine,
And lived to the age of ninety nine."

It is to be hoped that this "good old age" was accompanied by a temperate use of these liquids, or some mischievous inferences might be drawn by determined tipplers from such a record. Of its highly offensive character in a place of Christian sepulture there cannot be two opinions. The wit of a former generation has sometimes been exemplified in enigmatical inscriptions; the strangest and most perplexing of which is said to exist in Herefordshire, to the memory of a Churchwarden of Llandinabo, and thus runs the classical puzzle:—

TEMPLUM, BELLUM, SPELUNCA,
DE TERRA IN ARCU.

Thus translated—

CHURCH—WAR—DEN,
OF LLAND-IN-A-BO.

A terribly bad pun, but one of the queerest bits of whimsicality which can probably be found in Christian burial-places.

It is necessary too, to see when an inscription has been decided upon, that stone cutters understand what they are about; as Mr. Paget, in his "Tract upon Tombstones," relates an amusing instance, in which the words *Requiescat in pace* were to be carved, whereupon the workman, thinking that in an epitaph a rhyme was indispensable, thus indulged his fancy:—

REQUIESCE
CAT IN PACE.

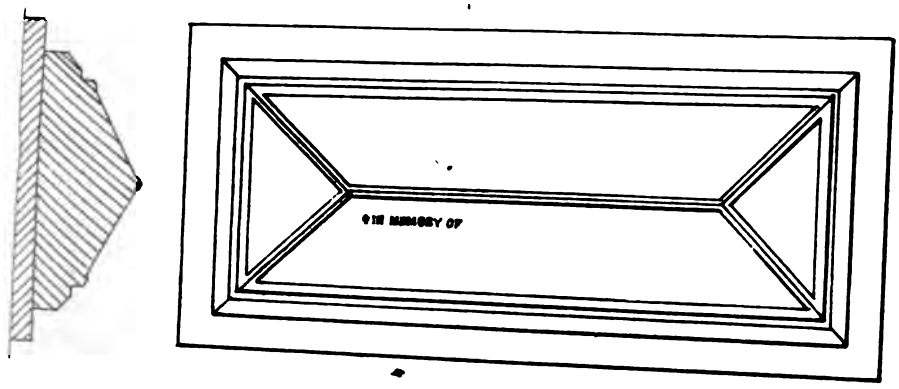
The opening of a new Cemetery in this City, offers a favourable opportunity for commencing a better system of Christian memorials; and it is sincerely hoped that in this respect Chester will set an example which ecclesiological tourists may hereafter quote with as much satisfaction as antiquaries now refer to its memorials of the olden time. To this end, several designs for flat and upright grave-stones are now exhibited. The sooner the prevalent fashion of huge ill-proportioned, mis-shapen head-stones is superseded by more sightly and appropriate erections the better. If it be a stone laid on a grave, it may either be quite flat or coped; and if upright, it should not much exceed in its outline the breadth of the grave, nor be so high as to interrupt the symmetrical view of the Church or the Cemetery. "The enclosure of tombs by iron rails is a practice too which it seems difficult to defend on Christian principles. The only reason is the protection of the grave so inclosed. But why is the grave of the rich, who can afford the expense of this process, to be protected, while the grave of the poor, made in the same image, a member of the same body, and a partaker of the same Spirit, is left to the rude violence of an untutored population? *Every* body laid in consecrated ground is entitled to the same care and respect. The proper course, therefore, is to protect the whole burial ground from unseemly intrusion and damage, and not to fence in particular spots, which seems to give license to the profane to treat the rest with disrespect." As this care has been taken at the Cemetery, there remains no argument for the adoption of the iron barriers of exclusiveness.

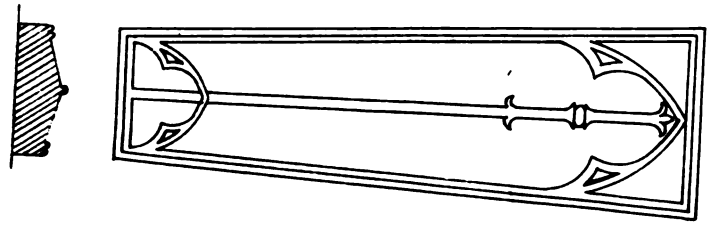
With respect to the many objectionable emblems which are usually sculptured on grave-stones, let us hear a few words from Mr. Paget:—

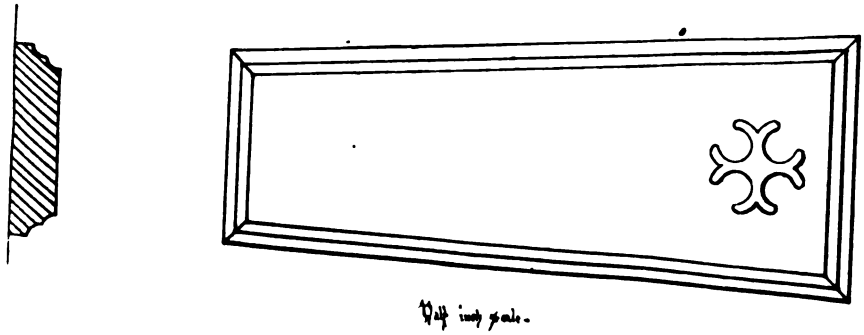
"Scythes and hour-glasses, mattocks and shovels, sculls and cross-bones, being frequently intermingled, and placed, as it were, in a group, at the head of a grave-stone, may be classed together, and one condemnation passed on them all. It is not that they are unmeaning, or that their meaning is objectionable, but they are mere symbols, and not very imposing symbols, while the *grave itself*, over which they stand, is a stern, and awful, and striking reality, awaking far more solemn thoughts than these mere types of mortality can do. Besides, they are altogether defective in inspiring the thought with which the view of a grave should always be attended;—the thought, namely, of that which lies beyond the grave, and of the time when death shall be swallowed up in victory. Scythes, and sculls, and spades might be appropriate enough for a heathen, but a Christian wants something *more*.

"The same thing may be said of that most offensive class of ornaments,—urns, and reversed or extinguished torches; both are copied from Pagan tombs; the extinguished torch is held to mean that hope is at an end, and that the soul no longer exists; and as for urns, they are only

SPECIMENS OF GRAVE STONES.

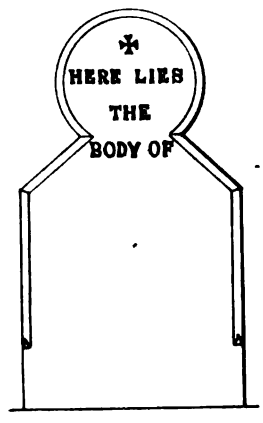




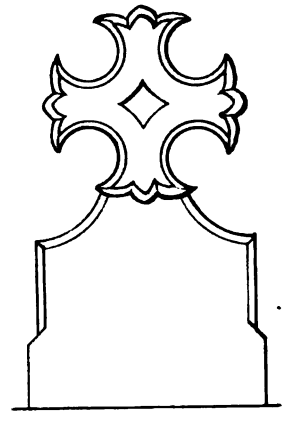


Half inch scale.

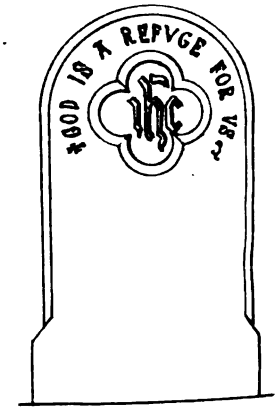
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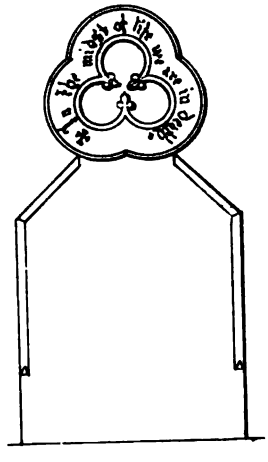
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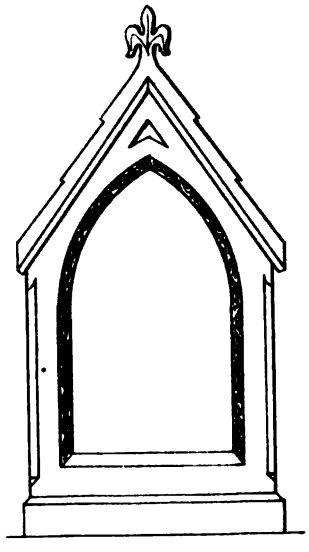
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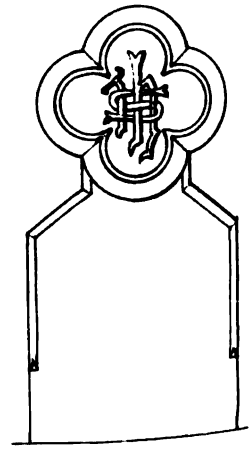
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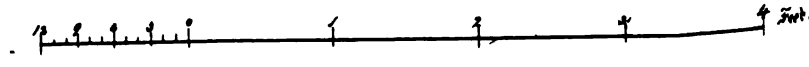
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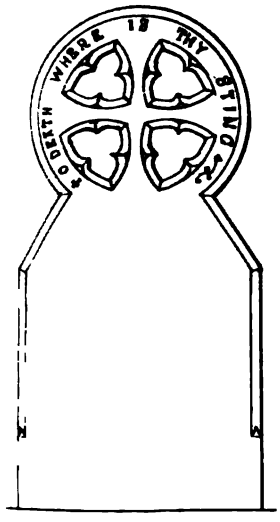
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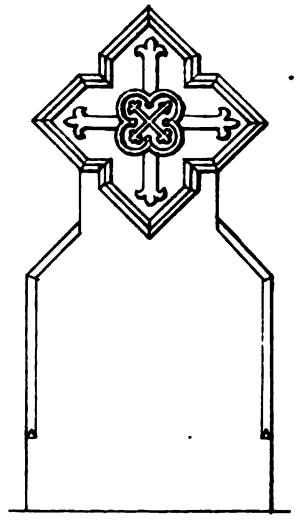
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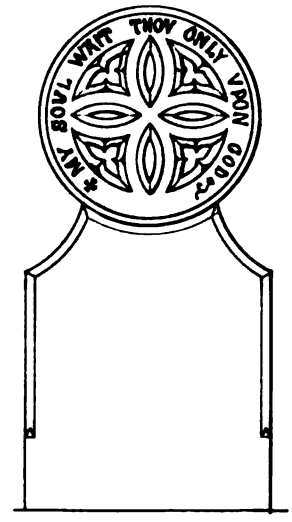
HEAD STONES



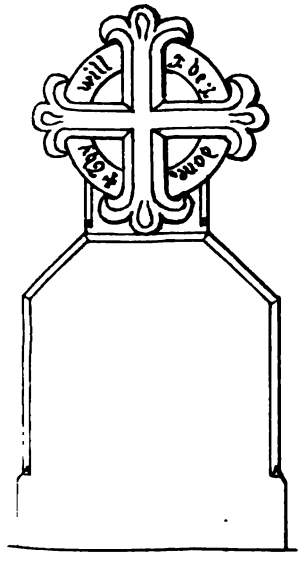
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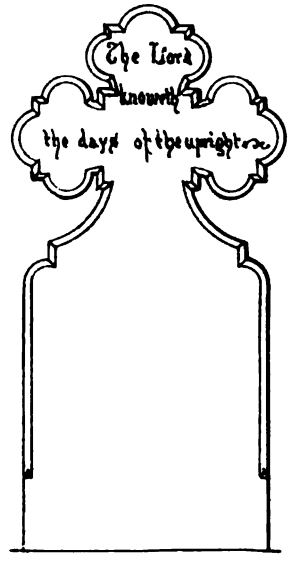
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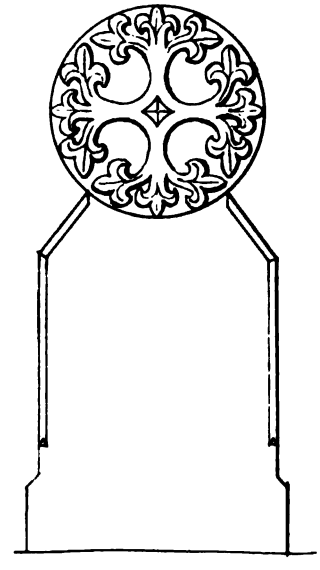
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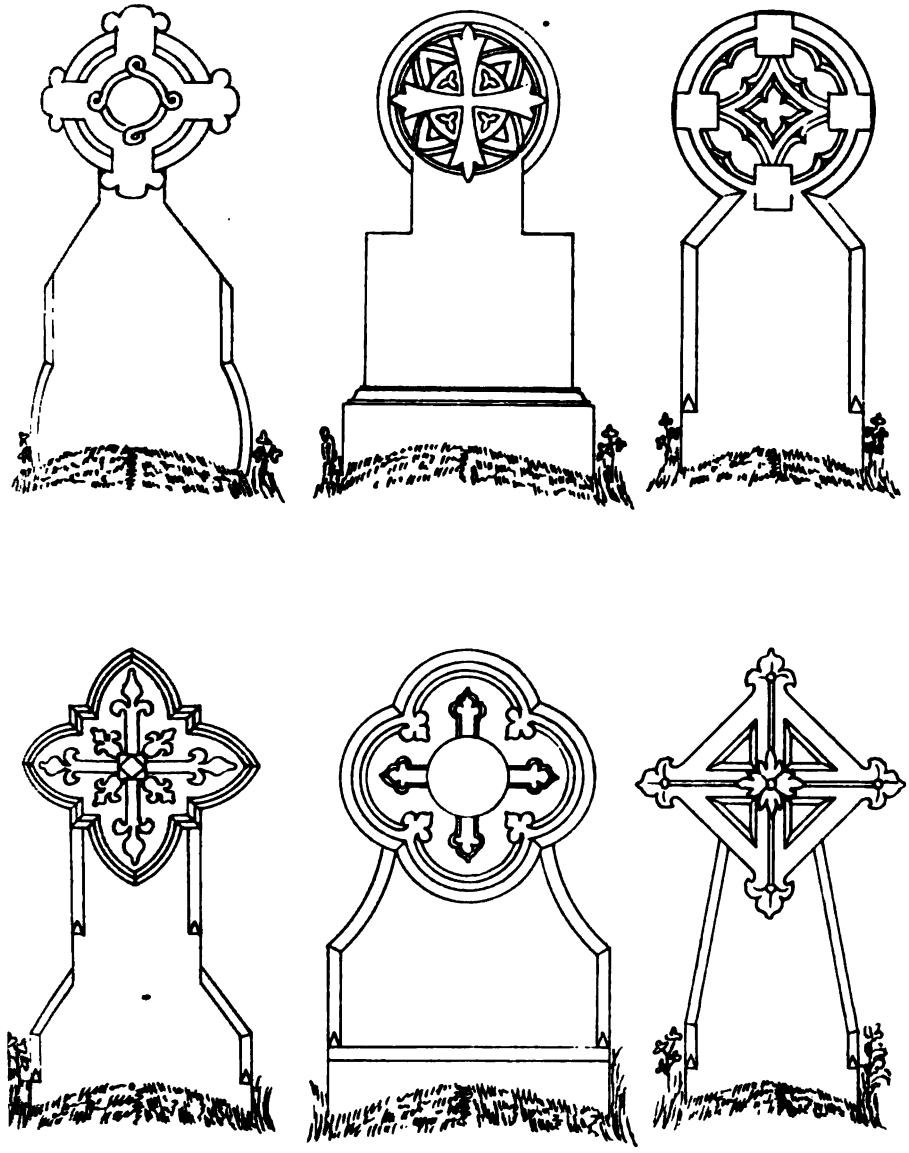
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12.

Jas. Harrison.

SPECIMENS OF HEAD STONES.



Feet.

Jas Harrison del

memorials of the abominable usage which the heathens, in their ignorance, inflicted on the bodies of the dead.—What the intended meaning of the fillets or chaplets which are sometimes introduced on Christian tombs copied from Greek designs may be I really have no idea, and therefore can say nothing about them.

"And now, having gone through this long list of silly or objectionable sepulchral emblems, I cannot refrain from one remark. There is *one* emblem, perfectly unobjectionable, perfectly appropriate, full of solemnity, full of consolation; which raises hope, and dries the tear, and turns mourning into gratitude; which, while it reminds us that we are sinners, reminds us of the means of pardon; which, while it shows us the penalty of sin, and thereby humbles us to the dust, at the same time cheers with the thought of Him Who paid the penalty; Who rose triumphant from the grave, Who is the Resurrection and the Life, Who will change our vile bodies, and raise them from the dust, Who hath hallowed the grave and gate of death into the passage of immortality; and Who, having Himself overcome the sharpness of death, hath opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. That emblem, I need scarcely say, is the CROSS."

We have no sympathy with any fantastic or absurdly romantic application of the theory of symbolism to such memorials; we are aware that "many ceremonies," as the Preface to our Prayer Book says, "have been turned to vanity and superstition, which at the first were of godly intent and purpose devised." We would preserve the "godly intent," and rescue it from the misinterpretation of "superstition." But as in the holy sacrament of Baptism, the brow is marked with the sign of the Cross, in token that we shall not be ashamed of the faith of the Crucified; so do we consider that such an emblem is a fit token that the remains of the faithful are there resting in hope for the fulfilment of that great article of our faith, the resurrection of the dead; when the sign of the returning Conqueror shall be seen in the clouds,—when from the crystal battlements of Heaven shall be heard the angelic summons, "Awake and sing ye that dwell in dust;"—the resuscitated armies of the grave shall rise to meet the coming God; and "this mortal shall put on immortality."

ON THE PROBABILITY THAT

Kinderton, near Middlewich, is the Condate of the Roman Itineraries.

BY THE

VENERABLE ISAAC WOOD,

ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER,

Read at the Meeting of the Society, May 6th, 1850.

ROMAN Antiquities form a very important branch of archæological study and research. To trace the footsteps of the mighty conquerors of the world throughout our land,—to mark the monuments of their former power and grandeur,—to observe the evidences of their indomitable energy,—and to bring to light those scattered fragments of their works which evince their advancement in all the arts, the refinements, and the luxuries of civilized life, afford us at once both interest and instruction.

It was on the evening of 26th August, in the year 55 before the Christian era, that C. Julius Cæsar first landed on the shore of Britain at Richborough in Kent, and it was about the middle of the fifth century (A.D. 446), *i.e.*, about 500 years afterwards, in the reign of Theodosius II., or Valentinian III., that the Romans finally abandoned the country.

Ambition, the lust of power, and cupidity were the ruling motives to Roman conquest; while the personal valour, the unabating energy, and the untiring diligence with which they pursued any object of attainment, were the means which (under the secret council of God) rendered the Romans the masters of the then known world.

These characteristics of the ancient Romans are very discernible in those remains of their works which now exist. Wherever the Romans trod they left the indelible marks of their having been there.

The Romans in their several invasions of Britain secured every advance into the country from their first encampment at Richborough by a station and a garrison proportioned to the circumstances of the place. These stations were connected together by military ways formed at an incalculable amount of labour, in making which they compelled the vanquished to toil, wearing them out by rigorous service; and although the science of the engineer was then but in its infancy, yet no difficulties seem to have daunted them, or to have proved insurmountable; the mountain pass, the secluded valley, the rough moorland and the marshy fen, as well as the open champaign, were alike traversed by the roads of the conquerors, and

thus a communication was sustained between every part of the country. The Roman Itineraries are still extant, marking the roads from the Roman Wall to Richborough, and extending over the entire breadth of the island; evidences of the methodical system of Roman aggression, and constituting a welcome guide to the antiquary. One of the stations mentioned in these Itineraries, as situated about 20 miles from Chester, is "*Condate*," the site of which has long been disputed, and consequently it becomes a matter of local interest to determine its position. I have, therefore, ventured to bring the subject forward, not in the spirit of a controversialist, contending for a favourite theory, but with the simple desire of ascertaining the true situation of the place.

Mr. Whittaker, in his History of Manchester, says that the Cornavii of Ptolemy before the arrival of the Romans, possessed the detached region of Flintshire, which adjoins the village of Banchor, all Cheshire, all Staffordshire, those parts of Shropshire which lie to the N. and E. of the Severn, almost all Warwickshire, and the adjoining parts of Leicestershire. They owned the towns of *Deva*, or Chester; *Uriconium*, or Wroxeter; *Banchorium*, or Banchor; and *Etocetum*, or Wall, near Lichfield (Vol. I. p. 147). These, called "Carnabii" by Richard of Cirencester, from their inhabiting a promontory, in the British tongue "Keren-ab," or a horn of the sea, are expressly declared to have been originally situated on the River Dee, *i.e.*, in the peninsula of Wirrall, and the adjacent country. While they were confined within the limits of West Cheshire they seem to have had only the towns of *Deva* and *Condate*; and the latter appears from its name to have been the capital, being composed of the words "Conda-te," signifying the principal city. Thus was *Condate*, after the acquisition of the rest of the county, and those of Stafford, &c., the metropolis of the whole. But the Carnabii lost their sovereignty by the incursion of the Brigantes before the Roman invasion (p. 149). It appears from this that *Condate* was originally a British station taken possession of by the Romans probably about A.D. 75. In pursuing an inquiry in order to fix the position of Condate, we must necessarily be guided by the Roman Itineraries, supported by local corroboration; but there appears considerable discrepancy between the several Itineraries which tends to embarrass the subject.

Itinerary of Antonine.			*Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester.*		
II. ITER.			VI. ITER.		
Roman Name.	Distance.	Modern Name.	Roman Name.	Distance.	Modern Name.
A Mancunio..		Manchester.	A Mancunio..		Manchester
			Finibus Maximæ & Flaviæ.	xviii.	Stretford-on-Mersey.
Condate...	xviii.	Kinderton.	Condate.....	xviii.	Kinderton.
Deva.....	xx.	Chester.	Deva.....	xviii.	Chester.

Itinerary of Antonine.			*Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester.*		
X. ITER.			X. ITER.		
Roman Name.	Distance.	Modern Name.	Roman Name.	Distance.	Modern Name
A Mancunio..		Manchester.	A Mancunio..		Manchester.
Condate. . .	xviii.	Kinderton.	Condate	xxiii.	Kinderton.
Mediolano..	xviii.	Market Drayton or Middle	Mediolano....	xviii.	Market Drayton or Middle

Congleton, *Northwich*, and *Kinderton*, *near Middlewich*, each claim to be *Condate*, we will, therefore, examine carefully their several pretensions.

I. *Congleton*.—With regard to this town the distances do not agree, which is at once fatal to its claim, although advocated by the Venerable Camden and by Dr. Gale. There does not in truth appear a single circumstance to give it a shadow of pretension, except the similarity of sound in the name "*Congleton*."

II. *Northwich*.—This place has more ground for pretension. Horsley (Brit. Rom. p. 415) concludes with Dr. Stukely that *Condate* has been at Northwich, or near it; "though," he adds, "I have not yet heard of any Roman remains or antiquities discovered at Northwich." This was written A.D. 1732, since which time a profusion of Roman antiquities have come to light there. Dr. Gale, as quoted by Horsley, supposes the name *Condate* here is borrowed from a Gaulish town of the same name; he also mentions the conjecture of another learned antiquarian, who affirms that *Condate*, in the old Gaulish tongue, signifies *the confluence of two rivers*; and how well this etymology suits a situation near Northwich is obvious to any one who casts his eye upon a map of Cheshire. We have seen that Whittaker gives another derivation of the name Condate—undoubtedly *Castle-hill*, in the township of Castle. Northwich is a Roman station, and judging from its position and from the large remains of foundations of building which have been dug up, and the antiquities which have come to light, it must have been a station of commanding strength, and of very considerable importance; and it is situated at the confluence of the River Weaver, with its tributary the Daven, or Dane. But notwithstanding these confessedly very strong features in the case of Northwich, I must still, with Dr. Tilston, of Chester, a correspondent of Horsley's, and with Mr. Whittaker, choose rather to place Condate at *Kinderton*.

It seems strange that there should be apparently no mention of Northwich in any of the Itineraries. "Salinæ" appears to have been the general description of all the places where brine springs occur, until circumstances arose to give them a more distinctive appellation. Perhaps the "Salinæ" which is mentioned by the anonymous Ravennas, in juxta position with "Condate," though no dependence can be placed upon that

writer's arrangement, may be Castle-Northwich, where, as Whittaker remarks, the brine flowing nearer to the surface would be earlier detected than that at the other salt towns where it lies deeper.

III. *Kinderton, near Middlewich*, will, I think, prove beyond doubt the ancient Condate. There is at Kinderton a Roman camp, in what is called "the Harboro' Field;" it is of an irregular figure, not a true parallelogram, although approaching as near to it as the formation of the land will allow; the sides are not exactly facing the cardinal points, although sufficiently so to be designated by them. This camp is bounded on the N. by the River Daven or Dane, on the W. by the River Croco, their confluence being at the N. W. angle. On the two other sides of the parallelogram the fosse is plainly discernible, though it has been greatly defaced by being partially levelled a few years ago. Several coins and other trifling articles have been found in levelling and ploughing the field which unfortunately have not been preserved. On 25th July, A.D. 1849, when digging to ascertain how far the gravel of the road extended, in each place opened small fragments of Roman pottery, some of Samian ware, were immediately thrown out sufficient to indicate the place to be Roman, and shewing the probability of much being discovered if diligent search were instituted.

There is a Roman road called *Kind-street, vulgo* King-street, still in use from Broken Cross, near Northwich, (one of the boundary crosses of the Norman Sanctuary of Rood, or Rud-heath,) pointing northwards towards Warrington, *Veratinum*, and running in a southward direction until it fords the Dane, a few yards west of Ravenscroft Bridge, and striking the camp in the Harbour's Field on the east side, terminates in *Kinderton*. At the termination of this road, the gravel of which it is composed may be traced to the width of between 40 and 50 yards, forming a platea or broadway at the junction of the several roads which there converge.

There is another Roman road to be traced in Bradwall, in the parish of Sandbach, the line of which, if extended southwards, would pass Hare Castle, and Chesterton, in Staffordshire, continuing a straight course to Etocetum, or Wall, near Lichfield; if produced northwards it falls into the straight part of "Booth-lane," in the road from Sandbach to Middlewich; and continuing in a line, the course of which can be traced through the fields, meets a short accommodation road called the Parson's-lane; and, following that to its termination, passes onwards, still discernible, until it meets the junction at *Kinderton*.

There is another Roman road which is traced through the fields from Occlestone Green, through Wimboldsley, Minshull Vernon, Leighton, and Worleston, nearly to Nantwich, pointing towards Wem, in Shropshire (Rutunium). This road produced in a line from Occlestone Green eastwards, crosses the River Wheelock, near Sutton Mill, and passing through

Sutton and Newton, nearly in the line with the present road, unites with the other ways at *Kinderton*.*

That *Kinderton* is the ancient Condate appears from the coincidence of the distances. Mr. Whittaker shews that the distance from Manchester to Kinderton by the northern Watling-street, until it crosses Kind-street at Over-street, and then turning to the left or southwards, accords with the distances given in the Itineraries from Mancunium to Condate, and he reconciles the apparent discrepancy between the Itineraries of Anto nine and of Richard of Cirencester, by shewing that the confine of the provinces of Maximæ and Flaviæ was the River Mersey, and that therefore Stretford-on-the-Mersey must be the place designed by the intermediate station between Mancunium and Condate in the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, and that it has been written xviii. instead of v., the figures below having caught the eye of the transcriber; thus making the entire distance xxiii. miles, as in Iter. v.: and he further reconciles the difference of measure between the two Itineraries by supposing that Richard measured from the camp itself, Castle Field, the former station Mancunium, and that Antonine measured from the parting of the two roads leading from the camp at Stretford, xviii. miles.

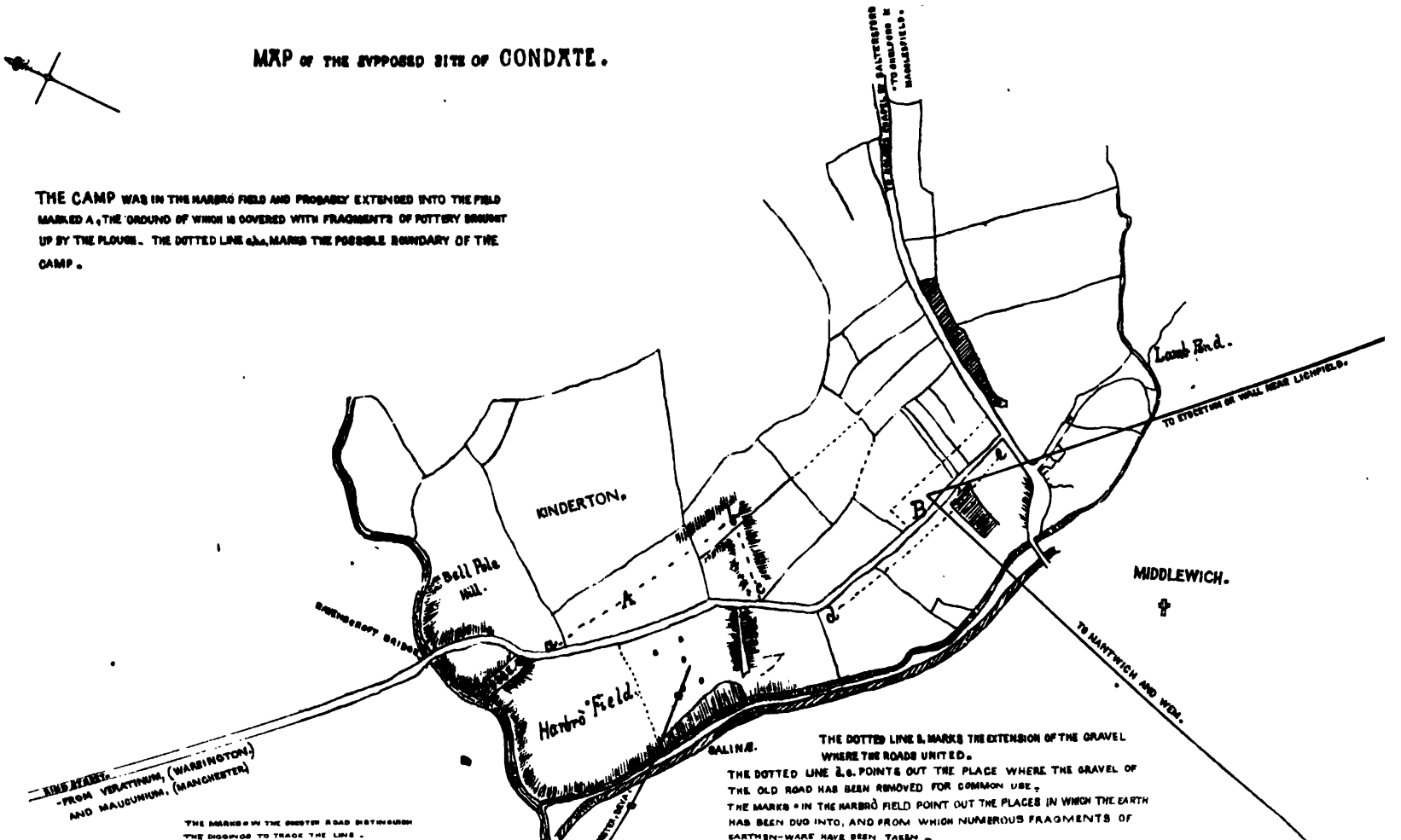
There has been also a road from the junction at Kinderton to Chester, which would cross the River Wheelock below Stanthorne Hill, and the River Weaver at Bradford, near New Bridge, in digging the foundation of which Roman antiquities were found. I have traced this road from Kinderton a short way, and if the line of it was extended it would pass down Bradford Mill Lane by the south side of Whitegate Church, and leaving Petty Pool to the right would enter the Northwich and Chester road, the northern Watling-street, at 18 miles from Chester. The distance from Kinderton to this point is between seven and eight miles, and as the Roman road across the Forest was a little shorter than the present road, it would exactly complete the xx. miles of the Itineraries.

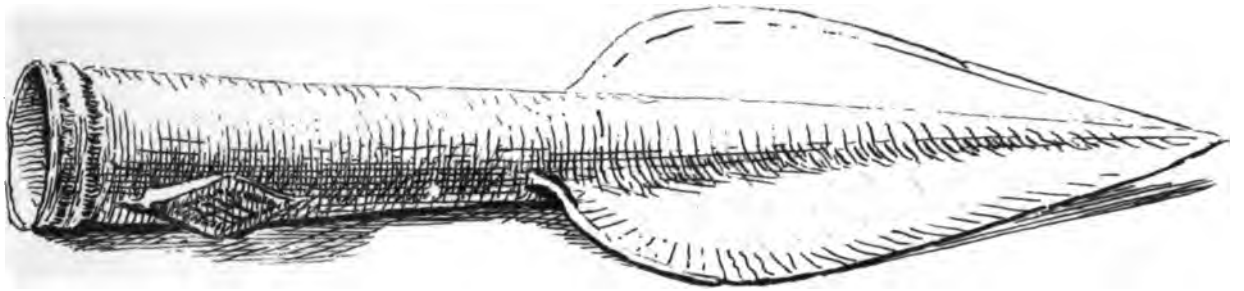
There is in the township of "Tetton" a place called "Within-street," and this name "Street" is a sure indication of a Roman road. In this township several Roman paving bricks have been dug up, and a little further to the S. W. a Roman urn was found in levelling a mount in the township of Warmingham, near the Forge Mill. That there has been a Roman road here I have no doubt, but I have not verified it. Supposing, however, this to be the case, it would point towards Market Drayton, which it would reach in about the distance given in the Itineraries between Condate and Mediolanum.

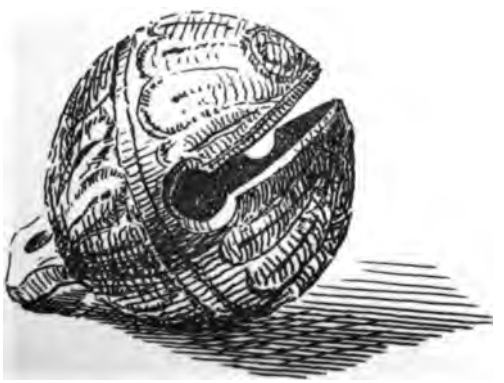
Another road proceeded from Kinderton, and following the present road to Holmes Chapel, crossed the River Dane at Saltersford, proceeding

* The farmers tell me that they find this road very little below the grass sod; and that, like many of the Roman roads, it has at intervals narrow footways branching from it.

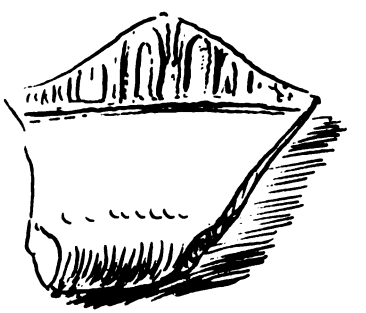
MAP OF THE SUPPOSED SITE OF CONDATE.











Roman Spear head and Copper Bell; — and fragments of Samian Ware.

onward until it joined, or rather intersected, the road from Manchester to Buxton.

In excavating for the foundation of the Viaduct at Saltersford, after cutting through eleven feet of alluvial deposit, the workmen came upon the gravel of the original bed of the river, in which they found a spear's head, and in another place the bell from a horse's harness.

To recapitulate the evidence which I have brought forward to shew the probability that Kinderton, near Middlewich, is the Condate of the Roman Itineraries—

I. In the name *Kinderton* we have a corruption of "*Condate*," or, as Whittaker remarks, "*Condate* is well echoed in *Kinderton*."

II. We find at this place a Roman camp at the confluence of two rivers.

III. The distances from Kinderton to Manchester by Stretford, and from Kinderton to Chester, agree with the distances given in the Itineraries between Condate and those places.

IV. We have a Roman road called *Kind*-street, terminating at Kinderton.

V. We find at the Broadway in Kinderton the junction of six Roman roads, which must have rendered it a place of note, and a station of importance.

From these premises I come to the conclusion, to use once more the words of Mr. Whittaker, that "this is Condate, the station so long lost and so vainly sought."*

Middlewich, *Medius Vicus*, has evidently derived its name from having been built at the junction of the ways, the converging point of the several Roman roads before enumerated, close to which place there exists in Kinderton a brine-pit, now covered over, which tradition says was worked by the Romans; and as we find a Roman station both at Northwich and at Nantwich, may not the name of the former arise from its being north of Middlewich, or upon the northern Watling-street, or upon the north, *i.e.*, the *right* bank of the River Dane, the township upon the opposite bank being called "*Leftwich?*" and the other Nantwich, at first called, as other salt towns, "Salinæ," and afterwards simply "*Vicus*," or "Wich," have had the British appellative "Nant," a valley, prefixed, and have thus become "Nantwich?" The name "Wich Malbank" is evidently of later date, taken from its Norman possessor, "William Malbedeng." It

* It has been usual in Cheshire to consider the appellation "Wich," or "Wyche," whether used simply or in composition as an affix, as indicating the manufacture of salt to be carried on at the place so named. The pan-houses in which the salt is boiled being customarily called "wich-houses." I think the present inquiry will throw light upon the term "Wich," as derived from the Latin "*Vicus*," and its association with the making of salt."

seems probable that the existence of the brine-springs at these places induced the Romans to build at them, and so entitle them to be called "*Vici.*"

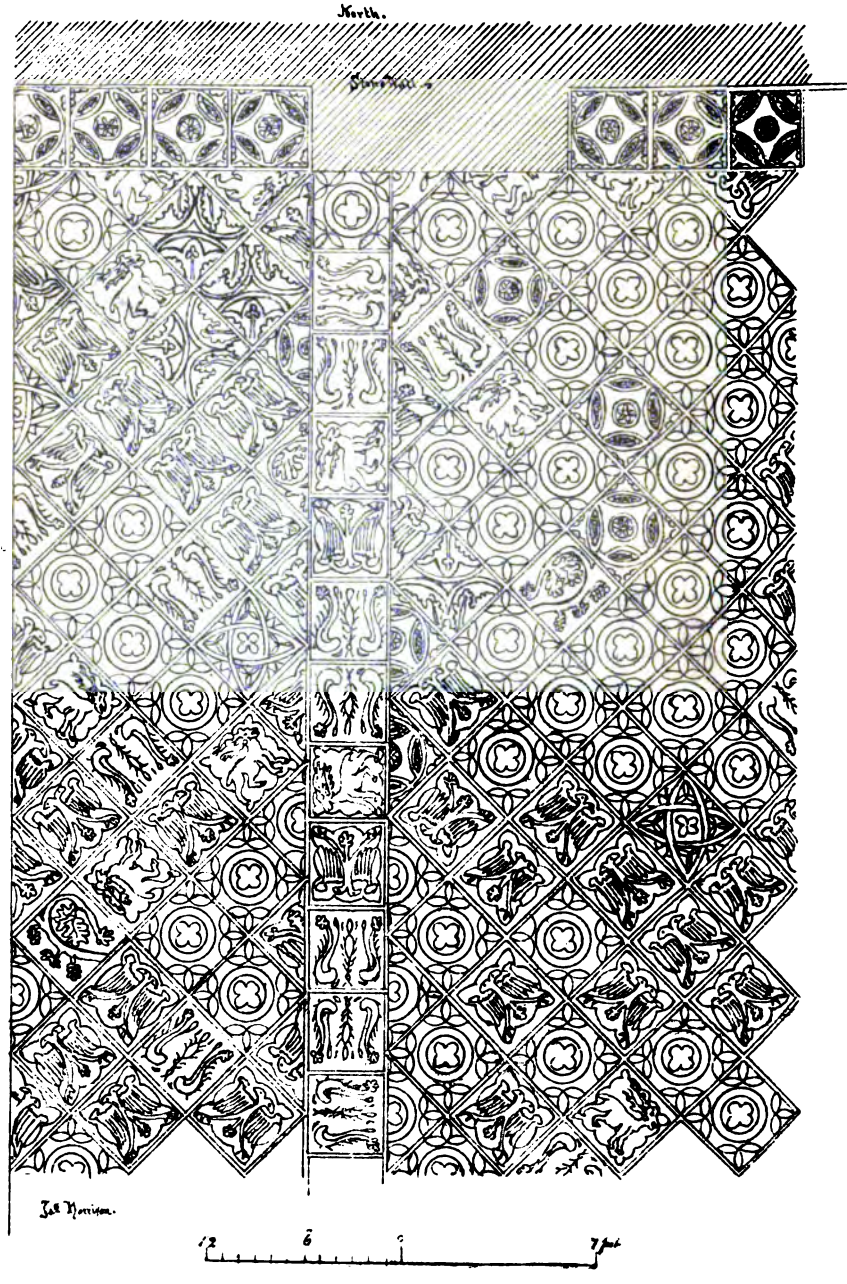
We have a parallel case in Droitwich. This place, like Nantwich, was originally called "Salinæ;" it was afterwards named "*Vicus*," or "Wych" only, evidently from having been built upon, and subsequently obtained the prefix "Droit," in allusion to the privileges granted to it, and hence the name "Droitwich;" and as most of the buildings erected, and which would confer the epithet "*Vicus*," or "Wich," would be for the purpose of making salt, the pan-houses might thus obtain the name of "wich-houses," and the termination "wich" in Cheshire and in Worcestershire be thus associated with the making of salt.

Northwich was a station on the northern Watling street, and from the position of it, and from the remains which have been discovered, was clearly a place of vast strength and of corresponding importance, in consequence of which, instead of, or perhaps in addition to, its name "Salinæ" it may have been styled, as a mark of pre-eminence, "Castra," "the Castle," a name which it still retains, and which, like that of "Chester," is a corruption of Castra, according to the line quoted by Camden:—

> **Cestria de Castris nomen quasi Castria sumpsit.**
> **Chester from Castra (or the Camp) was named.**

And it is not improbable that when this ancient City lost its primitive name, "Deva," it was called "*West*-Chester" from its relative position, as lying to the westward of the camp at Castle Northwich, also called "Castra;" the dreary Forest stretching its wide waste of bog and thicket between these its boundary stations.

Tile Floor discovered on the east side of Bridge Street adjoining the Feathers' Lane. Chester 1821



On a Tiled Floor,

RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN CHESTER.

BY JAMES HARRISON,

ARCHITECT.

Read at the Meeting of the Society, May 6th, 1850.

"DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT FLOOR.—In excavating for a drain on the premises belonging to Mr. Wynne, carpenter, on the east side of Bridge-street, adjoining the Feathers' Lane, a portion of a Tile Flooring was discovered last week. The proprietor very judiciously sent for Mr. Harrison, Architect, who recommended the opening of the ground in an adjoining warehouse, in which the floor was continued. It is mediæval, and extends over a space of twelve feet, at a depth of two feet six inches below the surface of the ground. The tiles bear the various devices of the above-mentioned period. They are tinted black and yellow, and laid in a zigzag pattern."—*Chester Courant, April* 24, 1850.

IT was my intention to have described the Tile Floor only which has been recently discovered in Bridge-street Row, but having been requested to give some particulars of Pavements generally, I shall briefly confine myself to such a description as may assist those who are not conversant with the different periods of Architecture in this country to distinguish the work of the Romans from that of the middle ages.

Mosaic floors have been in use from a very early period. The most ancient on record is the floor in the palace of King Ahasuerus, at Shushan, described in the first chapter of the Book of Esther as "a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble." These were the prevailing colours also in the Greek and Roman pavements; they were generally formed of small cubes, some of them very minute, arranged in various interlaced and flowing *patterns, principally* geometrical, with animals and other figures interspersed.

Pliny (xxxv. 25) says, "the most celebrated Greek Mosaic worker was Sósus, who strewed at Pergamus what they call 'the unswept room' (Asaroton Oicon), because he had represented all the leavings of a repast in various colours on the floor."

The numerous Roman pavements discovered in different parts of this country are composed of tesseræ, not exceeding an inch cube, and the principal colours are red, black, and white.

Ormerod, in describing the Roman Bath discovered in Watergate-street in January, 1779, mentions "an adjoining large chamber, with a tesselated pavement of black, white, and red tiles, about an inch square."

Sir Robert Atkyns, in his work on the Present State of Gloucestershire (page 350), says, "there was accidentally discovered in a meadow—The Leases—near the town of Cirencester, an ancient building underground; it was 50 feet long, and 40 feet broad, and about 4 feet high; supported by 100 brick pillars, inlaid very curiously with tesseraic work, with stones of divers colours little bigger than dice. It is supposed to have been a bathing-place of the Romans." This discovery was made in 1683.

The fragments of Roman brick, which are so frequently found in Chester, are also commonly called *tiles*; but they are quite distinct from floor-tiles, being usually about a foot and a half long, a foot wide, and one and a half inch thick, of unglazed red clay. These were formerly called wall tiles, and from this term they received the name Roman tiles; but they were principally used as bricks in constructing walls, and some of them as roofing and water-tiles. Earthenware of this description, because they were called tiles, seems to have conveyed an idea to some minds that all tiles discovered below the ground are Roman. Tiles were, however, much used for floors in the middle ages also; but these are easily distinguished from the Roman pavements, as the tesseræ of the latter scarcely ever exceeded an inch cube, whereas the middle-age tiles vary from four to six inches square. Moreover, the Roman tesseræ were each of a self-colour, the pattern being formed by combining a number of them so as to compose a picture, just as the coloured stitches in wool-work are arranged in the present day, whereas the pattern on a mediæval floor is inlaid in the tile itself. Ornamental tiles of this kind were much used for paving the floors of *churches* and religious houses, so that, being generally confined to buildings of a sacred character, wherever they are found there is good reason to suppose that a religious edifice had, at one time, occupied the site. There are few examples, however, of an earlier date than about the middle of the thirteenth century. The earliest are of red clay, stamped with a pattern, and the sinking filled up with white clay and glazed; such tiles are frequently ornamented with foliage in various colours and forms, according to the different periods in which they were made. I would here remark, that each style of ecclesiastical architecture has its peculiar foliage and ornaments; and these distinctive features are not only displayed in the architecture of the buildings, but also upon tombs, painted glass, and upon tiles. For instance, the early English foliage was of a conventional or fanciful character, not borrowed

closely from nature, whereas in decorated date they passed on to the imitation of real leaves and flowers, being especially fond of the oak leaf and vine. Sacred emblems, geometrical figures, heraldic devices, and grotesque characters are found upon tiles of every age; the coats of arms upon floors being frequently those of the reigning monarch, and of benefactors and founders of the church. Sometimes a single tile contains a complete pattern; but sets of four, eight, and various numbers, having a a continuous pattern extending over them, are most usual, being divided into compartments by rows of the single tiles between, as these at St. Michael's were.

The accompanying sketch, No. 1, is an exact representation of the pattern and place of each tile as found in the above-named floor under Mr. Wynne's shop, on the east side of Bridge-street Row, adjoining the Feathers' Lane, at the depth of 3 feet 6 inches below the ground. They occupied a space 12 feet square, as far as we could trace them; but the boundary on the south side has not been ascertained, as a wall and lane prevented us from extending the excavation. The tiles were bedded in mortar, on very soft soil, which may account for a settlement taking place with such a heavy weight of earth and accumulated rubbish upon them. It is probable that the falling in of the walls of the old warehouse, or the trampling of a horse that worked a tobacco-mill upon this site, may have caused this subsidence, which had taken place in one part of the floor to the extent of one foot; and in consequence of this the floor, when first uncovered, presented the appearance of a modern bath. From the irregular manner in which the tiles are placed, I imagine that they are not in their original position; the floor may have been repaired from time to time without due regard being paid to placing the tiles according to the patterns, though their arrangement as regards colours appears correct, the yellow and black tiles being disposed in a zigzag and alternate order.

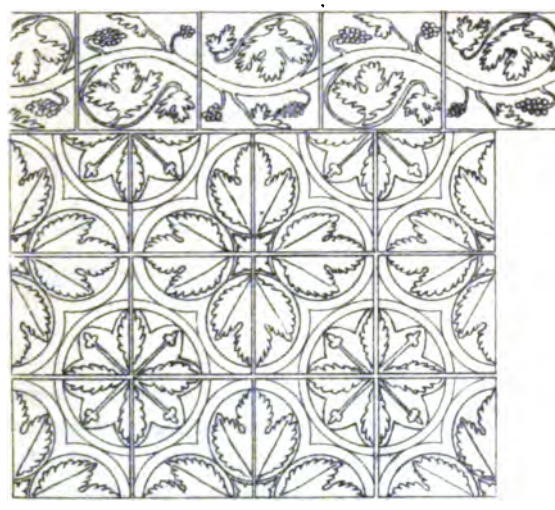
The tile on the first row, No. 1, is a remarkable specimen; it includes the interlacing circles, emblems of Heaven and Eternity, the Vesica, an emblem of our Lord, enclosing a fish, which is considered an emblem of Chastity; and all these considerations might make the pattern better suited to the lining of a chancel wall, where tiles are often used, than for a floor. The symbolical representation of a fish was found sculptured on some of the sarcophagi of the early Christians discovered in the catacombs at Rome; the figure of a fish afterwards gave place to an oval shaped compartment, or glory, pointed at the extremities formed by the intersection of two circles, shewn on the tile No. 1, found near Stanley-place. In this specimen the Vesica is interlaced. There are three tiles corresponding with this in the Bridge street floor. This was the most common symbol used in the middle ages; it is found in sculptures, in painted glass, and on seals.

The tiles with two circles enclosing a quatrefoil with a trefoil at each corner, when placed together, also form interlacing circles. A tile of this pattern was found in St Michael's Church. The stag, split-crow, or spread-eagle, and the dolphins, are no doubt heraldic, and may relate to the benefactors of this religious house. Bishop Gastrel mentions that the house given to the church stands on the site of the monastery of St. Michael, which was burnt by fire; and the garden belonging to this house was the workshop in which the floor was discovered; so that there is every reason to suppose that this floor was a portion of the monastery.

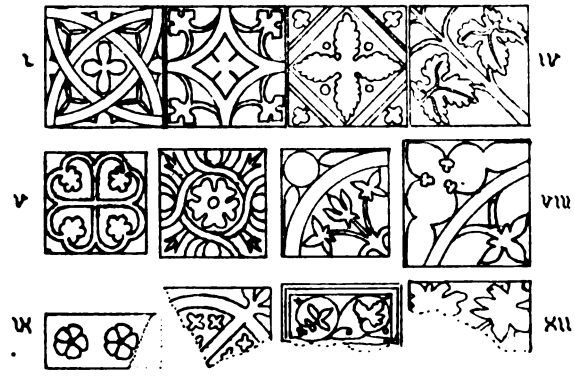
The vine border on No. 2 drawing is very graceful, as well as the foliage arranged in pattern below it. These specimens are well worth being adopted by modern tile-makers, and patterns have been forwarded to Mr. Minton for that purpose, who considers them deserving of regard. The other tiles on the same drawing were discovered in Stanley-street, about 20 years ago. We are indebted to Mr. Gardner for their preservation, and he has kindly given them to the Society.

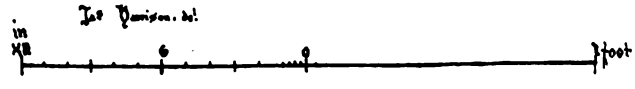
Paving tiles appear to have continued to be used in churches up to the time of the Reformation, and long after. For example, we have here some fragments of a very late date and coarse manufacture; they were found in the ruins of a chapel in Hertfordshire.

Another portion of the Bridge Street floor.



Tiles found in Stanley Street.





On a Wooden Bridge,

FOUND BURIED FOURTEEN FEET DEEP UNDER THE SILT AT BIRKENHEAD.

READ BY THE

REV. WM. H. MASSIE,

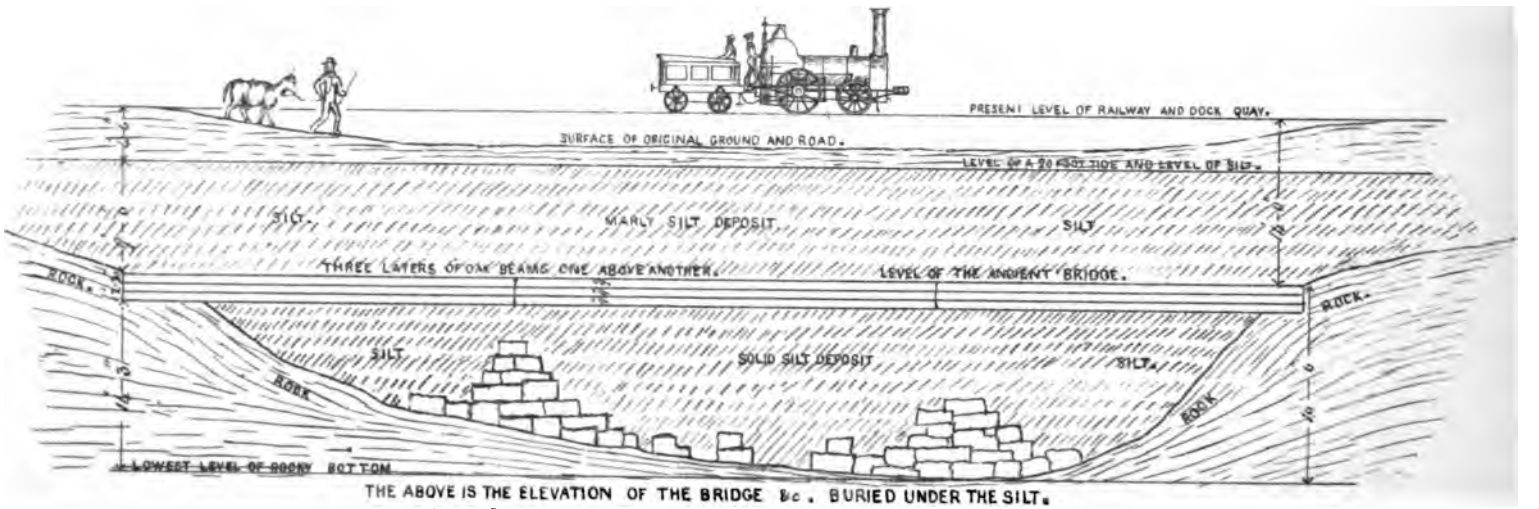
At a Meeting of the Society, held April 1st, 1850.

AS one of the objects of this Society is to record those things which have been long lost sight of, and are newly brought to light, it becomes the duty of some one connected with it to draw up an account of such discoveries, and to lay them before the members at their monthly meetings. The one I have to describe to you this evening is a singular framework of timber, recently exposed by the excavations going on at Birkenhead.

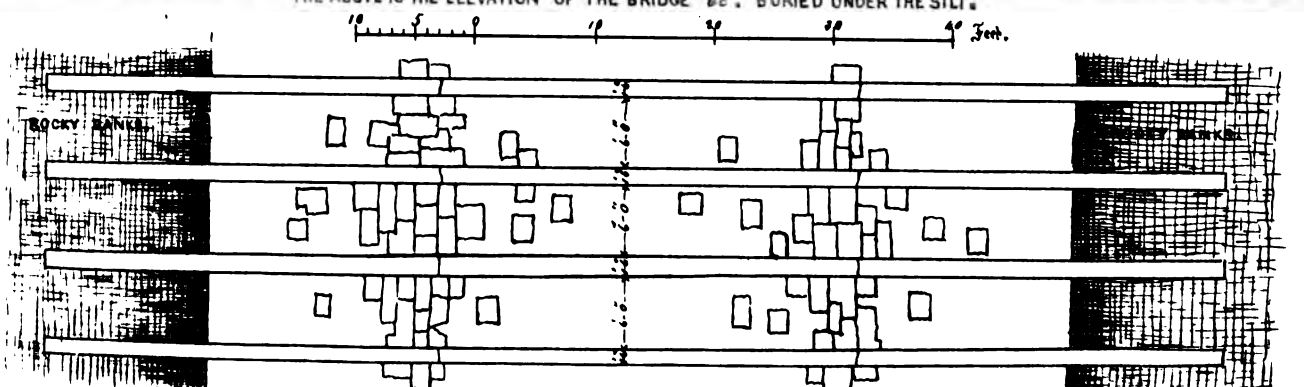
My province it is, to give you a distinct notion of the thing itself; and in order to this, to shew its exact situation on the map, the form and material of the structure, the position in which it lay, and the circumstances taken altogether. It will be for you to pronounce as to its purpose, its age, by what means it has been buried,—to draw whatever inferences you will, and supply whatever explanation you can, in the course of the conversation which will follow. I may, perhaps, (if needful) further assist your memories by recalling other well-known facts which bear upon the question; and whether our conclusions be just or not, at all events, this "log of oak" may serve as a peg on which to hang an entertaining discussion about the ancient geography of this quarter of the county, and may lead *many* to a knowledge of what is really full of interest to all, but which would otherwise lie buried in the brains or the books of archæologists, as deeply as this timber has lain under the silt at Birkenhead. Instructive recreation is our aim, and happy we are if our treasures are *new* to those who are present here, though wiser men should count them but as "tales twice told."

First, then, I have to lay before you the facts. Wallasey Pool is being made at present into docks. A small stream runs from the higher ground

on the south, and falls into the pool hardly a quarter of a mile from the shore of the River Mersey. This little stream, which once was a rivulet, but is now rather to be called a gully, is crossed by the main highway, which has always led from Monk's Ferry towards Bidstone, westward. There are many new streets, but this old road remains in its original direction still. It crosses the streamlet, or rather the almost dry channel of the streamlet, a hundred yards or more from the pool. Just at that spot a branch of railway has been lately formed from the Woodside station towards the new-made docks, so that the Company were obliged to build a bridge over which the old road might pass clear above their line. The site of this new bridge was on the very spot where the road crossed the bed of the before-named water-course. The nature of the ground required them to go to a great depth for foundation. They cut first through loam (a foot or so), then, for 12 or 13 feet more, through a mixture of loose sand and bluish marl, the very same kind of silt as forms the bed of Wallasey Pool, and evidently deposited by water. And here, at this depth, they came to solid beams of oak, lying horizontally in four rows, side by side, occupying a width of 23 feet or so, and resting at the ends on the hard rock. This was at the first pier. In clearing out foundation for the second pier of the new bridge, they passed through the very same strata, and came at the same depth again to the very same kind of oak beams, lying in the same form and same direction, in four rows side by side, forming as if the continuation of the former frame, and 23 feet wide as well. Again, in sinking for the last pier, the result was precisely similar; the other end of the oak beams resting, as the first, upon the rock, which had once formed the margin of the little rivulet, and leading them to the obvious conclusion that it had been a bridge; which idea was confirmed, when they found still deeper the rocky bed of a brook passing under the timbers I have just described. Further examination shewed the length of the bridge to be one hundred feet or near it, in three lengths of oaken beams, which must have rested at the junctures on piers of some material. This material we shall presently see to have been most probably stone. The wood was heart of oak, well squared by the axe, eighteen inches by nine thick, and each 33 feet long. These were laid in three courses, one above another, to give depth and strength, and in four parallel rows, a few feet apart from one another. So that there were no less than 36 such trees to form the entire roadway of the bridge, in addition to the rafters which must once have crossed them, but had mostly perished. What a structure to find buried in solid silt 14 or 15 feet under the soil! but not more singular than to find the rocky bed of a rivulet which had once flowed under it so much lower, and now altogether choked with sand or marl. We can hardly form a correct notion from a description given in words. I must, therefore, refer you to the drawing, in which all the particulars are



THE ABOVE IS THE ELEVATION OF THE BRIDGE &c. BURIED UNDER THE SILT.



THE PLAN OF THE MAIN TIMBERS OF THE ANCIENT BRIDGE AS IT WOULD APPEAR, WHEN LOOKED DOWN UPON. J.H.

brought before the eye and numbered. And let me here acknowledge the kind and able assistance of Mr. Snow, an engineer employed in the works upon the railway, who first communicated the circumstances to me, and afterwards took much pains to sift out the particulars most accurately, verifying every point, and who furnished both maps of the site, and plans on an exact scale, of what we have ventured to call "The Wooden Bridge." On *his* testimony the details rest; nor could there be better evidence than that of a person, of business-like habits, professionally occupied in the execution of the work. Well would it be for the interests of science and general information, if all, of like engagements, would in the same enlightened manner take notes of whatever they observe, and immediately communicate them to a Society such as this. He assured me (and he is here to-night himself) that the timbers all lay in one uniform level from end to end, and that large blocks of stone lay heaped together under the spots where the junctures would occur, which no doubt originally formed the piers, though the workmen digging out the sand cast them indifferently on one side, or used them as quickly as they could in forming the foundations for the new bridge.

Such is the description of the thing itself; an examination of the plate will bring it still more vividly before the mind. Our next point is, how to explain this wonder, what it was, who placed it there, how long it has been covered, how it came to lie at such a depth, what changes in the surface of the earth must have occurred since then, how were those changes brought about, and many other questions, naturally occurring to you all. Now, as to the accumulation of such a mass of earth, of sand, and marl, and silt, to such a depth, on this particular spot, so far there is no difficulty, it is easily accounted for. The surface of the silt is not more elevated than the flow of the highest tides. The tide has deposited it here, just as it has deposited it in the bed of the pool of Wallasey. The water of the Mersey meeting the water of the River Birket, checks the debris, and causes the stagnate mass to settle by degrees. So far then as the accumulation of sand and rubbish goes, though sixteen feet at least in depth, we may say beyond doubt that it has been the result of the above process. The present level of high-water would to this day produce the same effect.

The only difficulty lies in the question which next follows. How came such a frame of timber there, underneath the mass of silt? How are we to account for its having been placed and used at such a depth? Its position is as many feet below high-water as it is below the surface of the ground. If it was really a *bridge* for men to cross, we must conclude that the rocky bed of the rivulet, which evidently once flowed under it, was at the time when the bridge was used the limit of the Mersey's highest tides; or, to adopt a parliamentary expression, that a "moderate spring

tide" was *then* sixteen feet lower than at present; or else, that the whole of the district must have uniformly sunk a stage of sixteen English feet; for it is evidently unnatural to suppose that a bridge would be laid for a mere low-water crossing, and that composed of wood, subject to be disturbed by every returning flow; to have its cross-pieces and roadway carried off, and to be utterly unserviceable at best except for a momentary occasion. Nor can I well conceive it to have been applicable to any other purpose of shipbuilding or wharf, on the same account, besides that this is plainly the ancient highway, the name of "Bridge-end" being still retained, though no vestige of a bridge appeared above the ground, or has been known there in the memory of man. I shall, therefore, with your leave, take for granted that the first idea is the true one, viz that it really has been a "bridge;" and, proceeding on that hypothesis, consider how such a strange thing ever came there. Some objects of archæology are in themselves interesting, simply as being monuments of ancient time, and bringing before our minds men of other ages, long gone by. As the mind of man loves to look forward, so it loves to linger on the past; and antiquities, as such, find sympathy in this constitution of our nature. Other objects of archæology again are valuable as tending to elucidate facts in history, to settle points which long have been disputed, or lead the inquiring mind into instructive or interesting investigations. Let us regard our bridge then in this last light, as an argument for considering the changes which have taken place upon the western coast, and which, by undoubted evidence, are proved; and then, if still sceptical about the *bridge*, you will have gathered *some* information from this lecture.

You are not all aware, perhaps, what continual and extensive subsidences have from the remotest time been traced on our western shores of Wirral and Lancashire. North of the Mersey have been found along the shores, as far as low-water would allow examination, the roots and stumps of trees, the remains of ancient forests. Again, on the banks opposite Formby, across the very mouth of the river, similar vestiges of mighty woods and peaty soil, in which nuts and hazel boughs are every where imbedded, having once formed the brushwood of the forests of oak, are exposed from time to time by the retiring sea. Still further to the south on the coast of Wirral, between the Mersey and the Dee, tokens of the same kind abound as far as Hoylake and Hilbre. High-water mark is so far above these stumps, that, were the trees growing now, the waves would pass nearly over their tops, and quite as far above them as the tide (or silt which the tide has left) now rises above the buried "bridge." If we wonder at the last, and that wonder disposes us to doubt, we must also wonder at the other, and be equally disposed to doubt, though the fact of the "forests" under water is open to actual demonstration. Nor can it be said that the one is more strange as being the work of *man*, the other

not; for witnesses, who cannot be disbelieved, have ascertained that the oak trees were *planted* by design, being found in the regularity of rows, as well as cut down by human means,—having been most probably Druidical groves, such as Suetonius destroyed to mortify as well as extirpate the race. I think this the most likely explanation, because similar appearances are recorded on all this shore by travellers of early Norman times. I don't know that it has ever been remarked that Giraldus Cambrensis, in the year 1187, little more than a century after the Conquest, while at St. David's, preaching the crusades, speaks of a great hurricane, which swept the upper strata of the sand away, and shewed to their astonishment the same trunks of oak exposed, which he at that day knew not to account for, and which, he says, bore the marks of having been designedly cut down. This, then, carries us back beyond the Norman times, too far beyond them for men with all the learning of Giraldus, even in *his* day, to explain. So that whatever caused the subsidence of those extensive forests to such a depth below the tides must have taken place long before that date. In fact we are sure, from the Doomsday Book, that the Mersey flowed in the reign of the Conqueror much as it flows at present; and all these reflections lead us to suppose that the mighty change referred to, took place in ages long gone by, though, perhaps, since the time when the Romans left the country, which was as long before the Conquest as the Conquest is before ourselves. We may fairly say, then, that whatever caused the waves to overtop the trees, once planted and growing on dry land, may have caused the waves also to flow so far above our wooden bridge as well. There is no more difficulty in the one case than in the other, and there is also ample room for such extensive changes to have happened between the Roman and the Norman eras. Whether the common tradition of terrible earthquakes and inundations having happened in the fifth century on the western coast of England is sufficient to account for all these marvellous effects is another question, deserving of future consideration.

In the meantime, the above very reasonable admission is all that I claim, and is enough to remove incredulity at all events, and to secure a calm hearing for arguments which may carry us still further.

Note.—Let me say here, once for all, that my lectures being extemporaneous, contained a number of particulars which it is not possible to bring within compass of printing,—facts, in evidence of the above point, which have again and again been adduced; such as the burial grounds on the Lancashire and on the Cheshire shore below Leasowe, on spots now occupied by the seas, remains of houses traceable far out upon the sands near Barmouth, and many other details, quoted by Mr. Williams, Mr. Hicklin, and other members who took part in the occasional discussions, and which may be found also in Pennant, Ormerod, &c. I have also,

since the date of my two lectures on this subject, attended a meeting of the Liverpool Historic Society, where I heard Mr. Mortimer, and others, refer to a variety of circumstances which they had themselves verified. Mr. Picton has also kindly forwarded to me, in support of my views, a most able disquisition of his own, read in 1849, before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool; in which he refers also to the Rev. Dr. Hume, and others, as coinciding in opinion, and from which I should certainly have quoted largely, had I known of the pamphlet before I gave my last lectures.

End of Part I. To be continued on a future page.

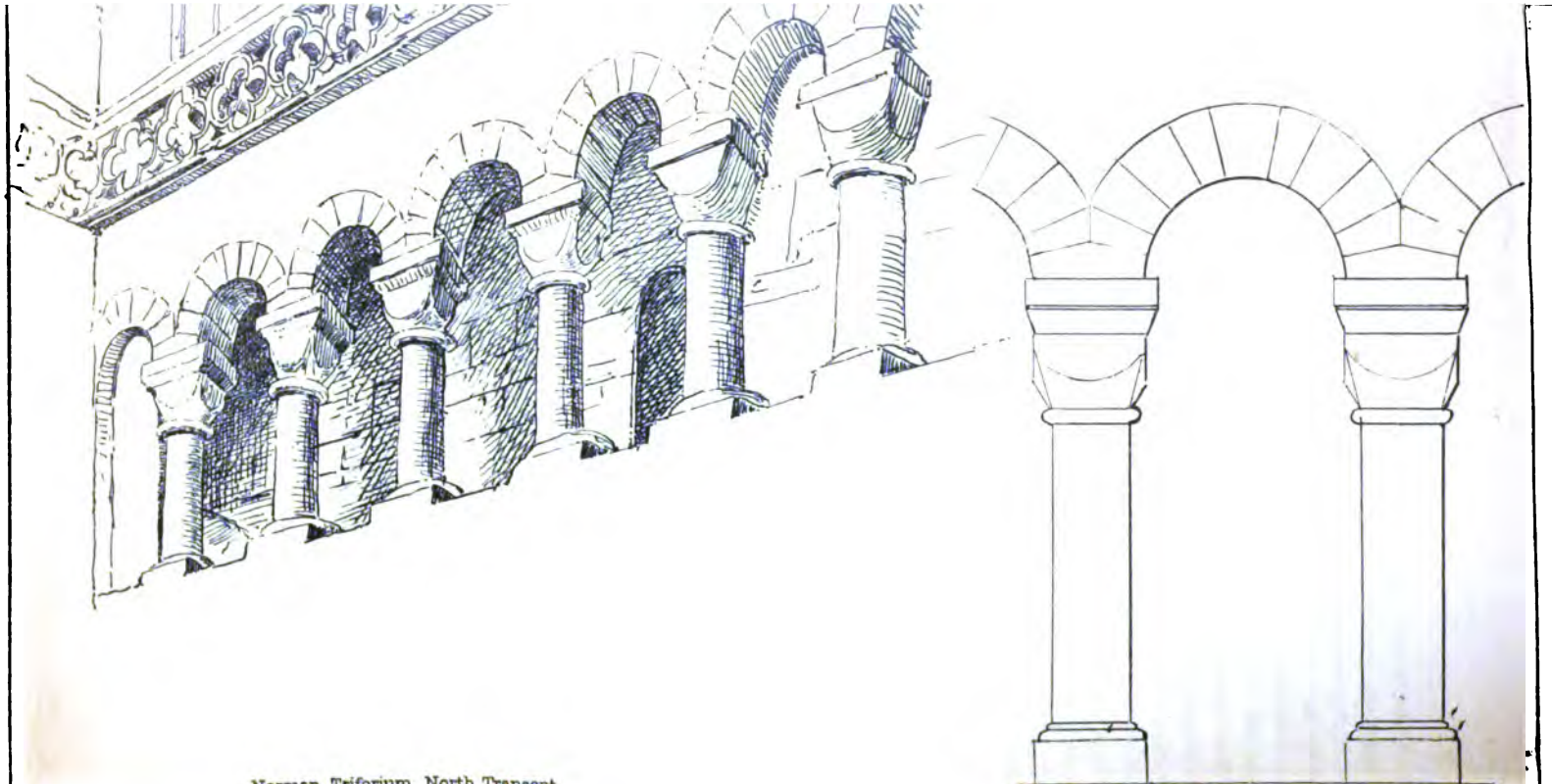
The Norman Remains of Chester Cathedral.

BY WILLIAM AYRTON.

Read at the Meetings of the Society, April 1st, and May 6th, 1850.

IT was remarked by Mr. Ashpitel, in his lecture delivered at the Chester Congress of the British Archæological Association, that the Cathedral of Chester was rendered peculiarly rich and interesting as a study for the archæologist, from the variety of existing styles, distinctly marking the different periods of their erection, and assigning to each century its portion of a building, commenced as early as the reign of William Rufus, and added to during the succeeding ages, until it was scarcely completed by the alterations and additions for which it was indebted to the wealth and influence of Cardinal Wolsey. Of these varied portions, not the least interesting are no doubt those which remain of the Norman edifice. They are interesting from the very obscurity of their history; interesting from their character, their severe, simple, massive grandeur, alike indicative and illustrative of the age to which they belong; and which, if we were entirely at a loss for written authority, would tell us no less plainly the very era of their erection: interestng from the perfect state of preservation in which, after the lapse of so many ages, we still find them, and from the obscurity in which they have some of them remained so long buried, known only by report to the antiquarian, and entirely hidden from public view.

The records we have of the Abbey of St. Werburgh previous to the Conquest testify to the existence of a very important building, of which,



Norman Triforium, North Transept,
Chester Cathedral.

W.A.

12 inches 0 1 2 3 4 feet

indeed, we might even now expect to find some traces, were it not that their absence is fully accounted for by the fact that the Abbey had, in the beginning of the eleventh century, fallen into a state of great dilapidation; so much so, that in 1057, Leofric, Earl of Chester, when he visited the city, made the necessary repairs at his own expense.

In 1093, as shewn by the date of the original charter, Hugo d'Avranches (Hugh Lupus), then Earl of Chester, performed one of those acts by which the nobles of his day thought to atone for a vicious life, and laid the foundation of a magnificent building, the remains of which form the subject of the present consideration.

The remains which bear the appearance of earliest date, are those in the north transept of the Cathedral, on the east wall of which is part of a Triforium, consisting of seven arches,—four open, three blank. These arches are exactly semi-circular, springing from very plain capitals, and resting on plain cylindrical shafts, the bases of which are equally devoid of ornament, and unpossessed of well-proportioned character. The capitals, plain as they are, have been further mutilated to agree with the subsequent facing of the wall. The proportions are—

Width of each arch ...	...	...	...	2 feet 1 inch.
Length of shaft... ...	...	...	...	3 ,, 2 ,,
Length of pillar, including base and capital ...				5 ,, 4 ,,
Height of arch from the spring		...	...	1 ,, 0½ ,,

Access to this Triforium is at present obtained through an archway at the back of it, which corresponds in size and situation with the arch in front of it, and which appears to have been one of a double arcade, the remaining arches of which are now built up and hidden by plaster. On the opposite, the west wall of the transept, are three plain blank arches precisely similar, which are probably the remains of a corresponding Triforium, the front arcade of which has been removed in reducing the thickness of the wall for a subsequent design. In the east side of the east wall of this transept, and forming part of the present vestry, is a Norman arch springing from capitals, the mouldings of which are entirely lost in plaster, the shafts of the pillars being gone. This arch is very lofty and massive, being doubly recessed, the diameter of the outer arch being about nine feet, and the height to the centre of the arch from the present flooring about fifteen feet.

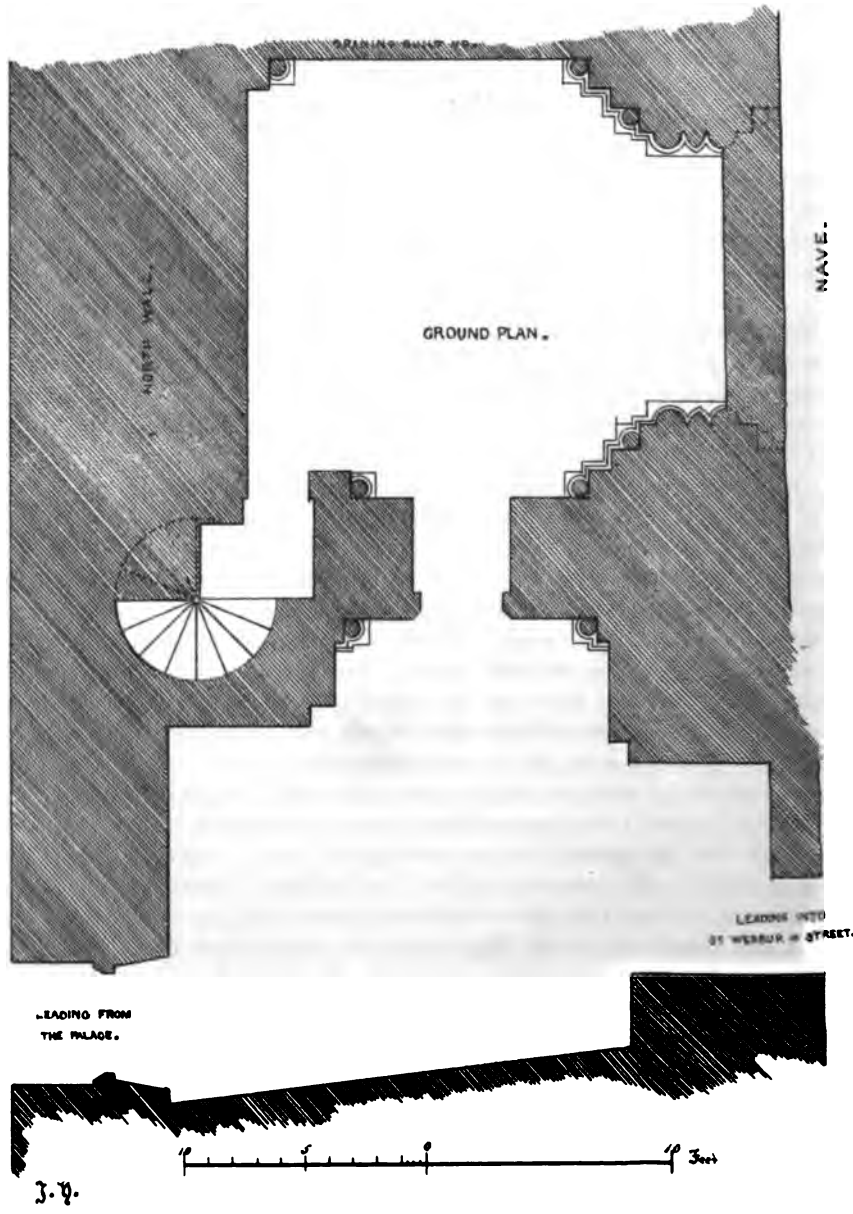
The part which may, perhaps, be safely considered as next in date, is what remains of the north-west tower, or rather the piers and arches intended to support it. These are exceedingly massive and bold in their proportions and relief, and would, if no other feature of the Norman building remained, alone convey an impressive idea of its pristine grandeur. They are strictly Norman, built in the small courses of masonry peculiar to the style. The intervals between the piers formerly open

to the south and east, are now walled up with solid masonry of much later date, in which existing corbels indicate a ceiling *then* built, even less lofty than the present one, which is yet not sufficiently so to prevent its interference with the Norman design, the arches of which it still breaks in upon and disfigures. In the south wall of the tower is a window, too devoid of character to claim a date, which looks into the west end of the Cathedral nave. In the north-west corner is a spiral staircase, now walled up, leading to the story above. This part of the building offers no ground for discussion or description. A few strokes of the pencil are sufficient to convey its simple design: its purpose is evident, and its character entirely agrees with the era to which it is ascribed,—the end of the eleventh century. One feature belonging to the piers is not so common in Norman architecture and proportionately interesting; the centre shaft of each pier supporting the south arch, instead of being cylindrical, forms an ellipsis of an acute angle.

On the west of the tower is an ante-chamber, on one wall of which has been a richly-ornamented Norman string course, of which only a fragment remains; it is the square nail-head ornament over a sort of scroll pattern.

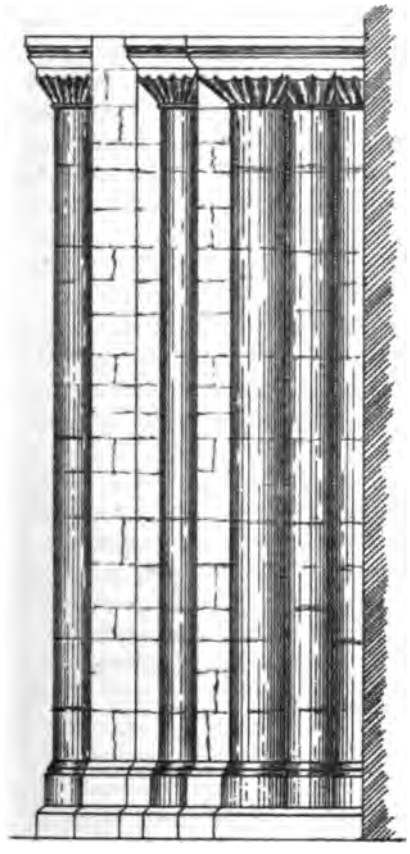
We now come to a portion of the Norman edifice which has of late excited very great, and, perhaps, more than a proportionate interest. I mean the so-called Promptuarium, lately excavated. This chamber is a sort of gallery or cloister, on the ground floor, about ninety feet long, by forty feet wide, traversed in the centre by a row of pillars, (with one exception cylindrical), which divide it into six double bays, from which pillars, and from corresponding ones at each side, spring the intersecting arches by which the building is vaulted. I cannot pass by these pillars without calling your attention to their beautiful proportions, and their adaptation to the rude and ponderous roof which they support. They have been contrasted with similar pillars at Worcester and Canterbury; we may now compare them with others in the same building of which they still form part. It is interesting to find so great a variety in the specimens of Norman architecture which we possess in Chester Cathedral; and the variety is more striking when we see drawings of the different specimens brought together and closely contrasted. The pillars of the Triforium in the north transept are like those in the Crypt at Canterbury, rude and ill proportioned; the shafts small, the capitals heavy and overloaded, while in those of the Norman vault the very reverse is the case, each pillar being really beautiful in itself, and still more so when considered with reference to the vaulted roof which it supports. The side pillars are as entirely Norman in their character as the centre ones, being simply the square pier, on each face of which is the pilaster attached. The groining of the roof is without the finish of ribs at the joints, a finish characteristic of a later period.

NORTH WEST TOWER CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

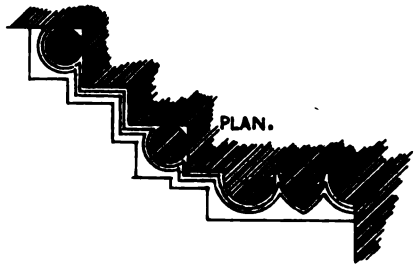


J.H.

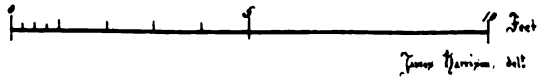
PILLARS IN THE NORTH WEST TOWER CHESTER CATHEDRAL ix



ELEVATION.



PLAN.



Feet

James Harrison, del.

The chamber, which has at present only a borrowed light from the cloisters, on the east, was originally lighted from the west side by a window in each bay, except the second bay from the south end, in which was a principal entrance. This doorway and the windows are now all choked up by the adjoining garden. There are a few unimportant alterations of later date on the west side. On the same side, and at the north end, is a very large chimney and fire-place. A glance at the groining and arches at the north end informing us that the chamber did not formerly end here, I was induced to think, by this situation of the fire-place, that its length was originally very much greater. I have since found the termination of the chamber in the cellars of the present Registry, where the groining is supported by corbels, which shew that the vault extended there, but no further. One double bay, therefore, added to the present remains, gives us the entire length of the building,—about one hundred and five feet. In this last bay, on the east side, is a principal doorway, (four inches wider than the one on the west side), leading towards the Refectory. On the east side also, and near the north end, is a postern from the cloisters and a spiral staircase, partly constructed in the thickness of the wall, leading to the chamber above, of which there are now no remains. Two small archways at opposite sides of the chamber, precisely similar in form and size, and rising from beneath the level of the floor, seemed to indicate a subterranean passage connecting them. An excavation round each has, however, discovered no channel between them. In considering the character and situation of this vaulted chamber it should be borne in mind that though now apparently subterranean, it is only so with reference to the west side, the level of the floor being four feet above the level of the nave of the Cathedral. The ground which now rises above it on the west side is all *made* ground of late date, belonging to the Palace, the original level of which is identical with this chamber, as shewn by the area round the present Palace kitchens, and by those apartments belonging to the Abbot's residence, which yet remain.

Having now placed this remain before you as clearly as is in my power, allow me to inquire, has it been properly named "the Promptuarium?"

I do not raise the objection for the sake of an objection, or from an affectation of seeking to differ; but I really do not think there is any authority for it; and the more I consider it the more I do think that the style and size of the building bespeak a different purpose.

Let us see how far we have any authority for considering this building a "Promptuarium,"* that is, a store-room, or buttery. All that Ormerod says of it is, that "it is a kind of crypt, consisting of a double row of circular arches, springing, with one exception, from short cylindrical columns. This building was probably used as a depository for the

* Promptuarium. *Ex quo aliquid depromitur*—a store-room, buttery, or spence.

imported stores of the Abbey, of which we may form no mean idea from a charter from the King of the Isles to the Abbot of St. Werburgh, granting ingress and egress to the vessels of the Monks of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, with sale and purchase of goods toll free, and right of fishing upon his coasts." (Vol. I. page 218.) But he gives us no authority for the use ascribed to it; only his own unsupported supposition, hazarded when the building was not so far cleared or intelligible as at present. The name "Promptuarium" was bestowed on it by Mr. Ashpitel when it was cleared out and restored to its present condition at the expense of the British Archœological Association, under the direction of the Local Committee, preparatory to the Congress of 1849. He derives the name from a sentence in Henry the VIII.'s charter (dividing the properties between the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter,) and speaks o this building in the *plural*, which agrees with his reading of the charter, but does not agree with the fact. He says, in his lecture on Chester Cathedral, "These are vaulted apartments of early Norman work, and are described in the charter of Henry VIII., by which he divides the properties between the Bishop and the Dean as *Promptuaria et Pannaria*, the former derived from a word denoting a butler or steward, probably a buttery, and the latter from *pannus*, a cloth, probably the place for clothing."* The sentence to which Mr. Ashpitel alludes, and which he applies to this building, is the one describing the chamber which was called the "*secunda aula*,"—"*nec non secundam aulam, seu interiorem cum suis pannariis, promptuariis, et ceteris ejusdem membris.*"

No doubt the hall, which was of great importance, had its promptuaria and pannaria, with its other appropriate offices; but I see no ground for applying these plural designations to a single chamber of such extent and character. We find the same terms used elsewhere in the charter with reference to other parts of the building, where there is no such chamber on which to bestow them.† I must also suggest that we do not elsewhere find in remains of this date buildings of such unbroken extent, magnitude, and continuous design, for such a purpose. Store-houses and offices there were attached to every conventual building of like importance, but we shall find them, I apprehend, always more equally quadrangular, more confined, and with a regard to convenience which predominates over the attention paid to style and effect. Here we have a chamber of vast extent (we have now ascertained its original length to have been 105 feet), in which the design has been kept carefully unbroken by the details or partitions necessary to offices such as the word "Promptuarium" describes. We see throughout the whole extent great attention paid to the

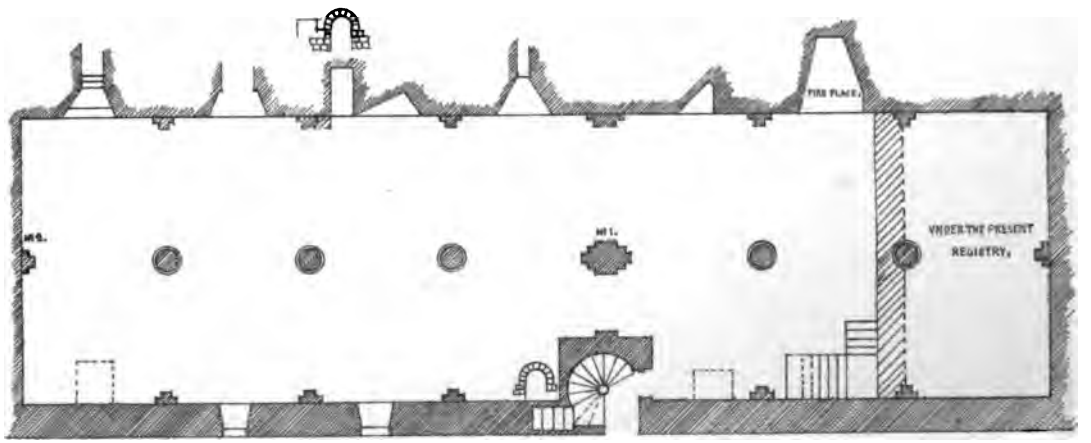
* Journal of the British Archæological Association for October, 1849, page 5.

† "*Conclave unum publicum vocatum* 'Abbot's Parlour' *cum promptuariis et pannariis eidem adstructis.*"



Column in the Norman Chamber
Chester Cathedral.

NORMAN VAULTED CHAMBER CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

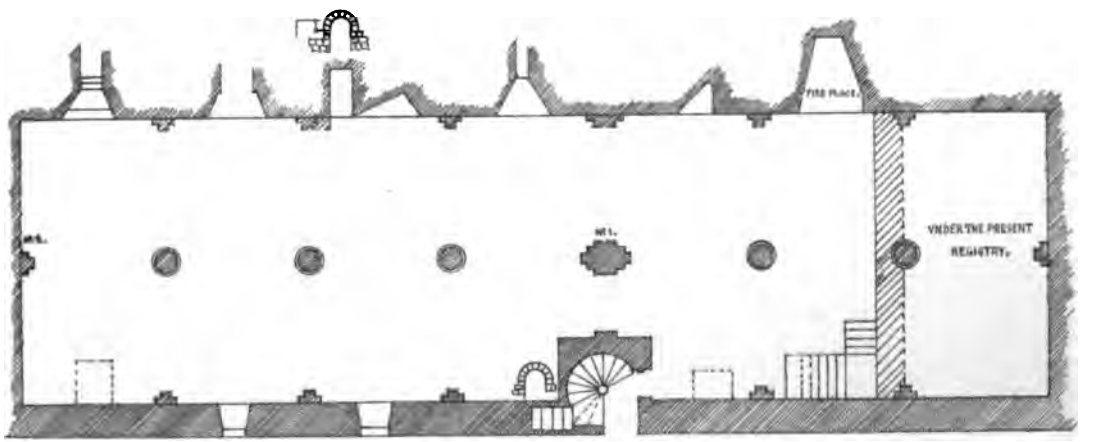


CLOISTERS.

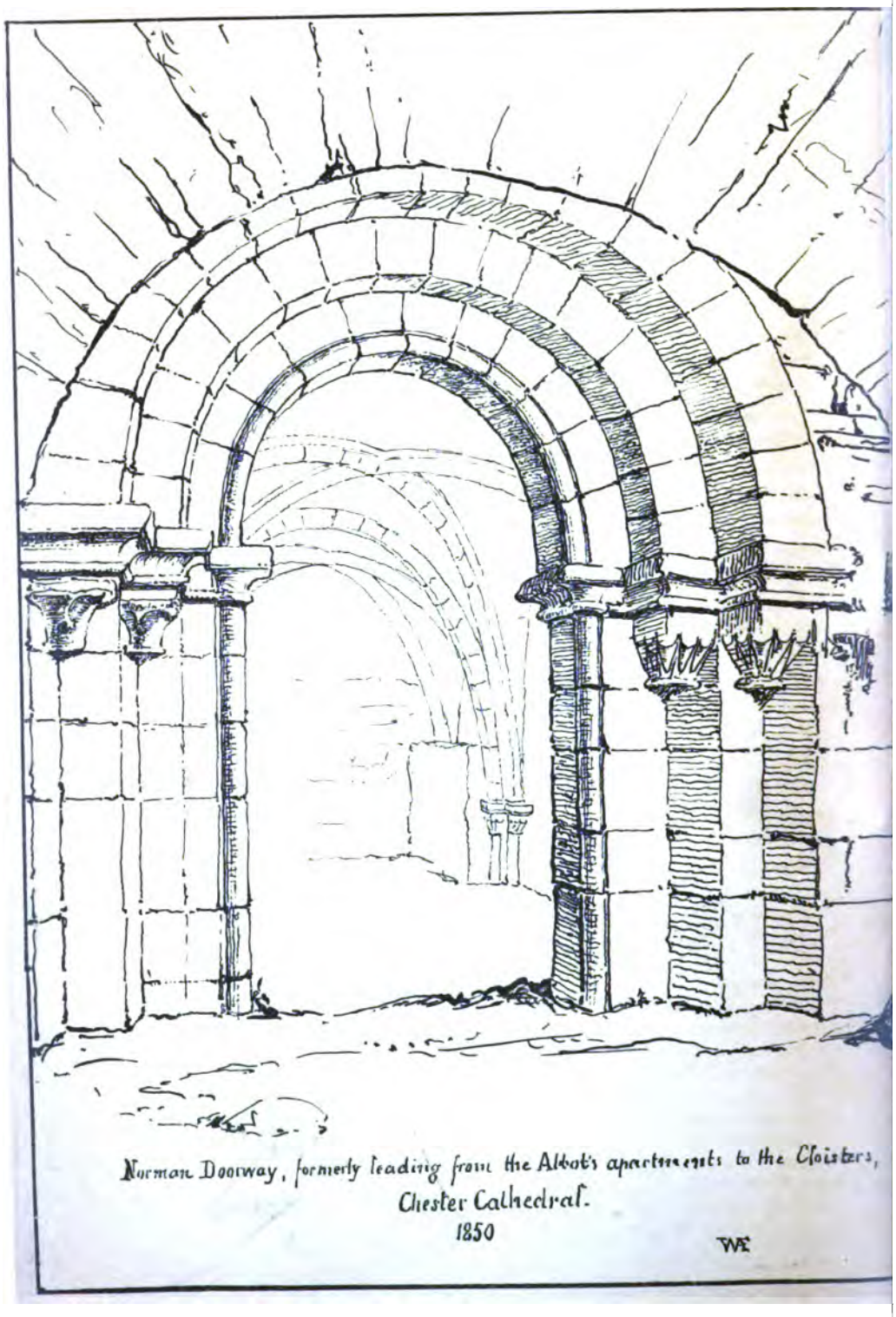
0 1 2 3 4 5 Feet.

J.P.

NORMAN VAULTED CHAMBER CHESTER CATHEDRAL.



J.H.



Norman Doorway, formerly leading from the Abbot's apartments to the Cloisters,
Chester Cathedral.
1850

WE

arrangement, the regularity, and the ornamentation of the building; and we find the pillars, the capitals, shafts, and bases, unbroken and uninjured save by the hand of time, and, notwithstanding the friable nature of the stone, for the most part as sharp and well defined as they were left by the chisel of the mason. It appears to me impossible to reconcile all these particulars with the purposes assigned to the building by Ormerod, or by Mr. Ashpitel.*

I may now perhaps be asked, "If this chamber was neither a store-room nor a promptuarium, what was it?" It is not without hesitation that I attempt to answer that question. From its length, its double bay of arches, and its situation between the church, the refectory, and the Abbot's apartments, I should have deemed it a cloister; probably *the* Norman cloister, when the ground occupied by the present cloisters was differently appropriated; but, unlike a cloister, it is closed on every side, and the existence of the fire-place does not agree with that assumption; added to which the original windows are all on the side belonging to the Abbot's apartments, the side to the church having been entirely closed with the exception of the postern. My belief is, that it was no other than *the* "Secunda Aula" itself, mentioned in Henry the Eighth's charter; a sort of spacious hall for the accommodation of the Abbot's friends and dependents, for the reception of strangers, and the exercise of that large hospitality which was dealt out so freely and bountifully in the eleventh and succeeding centuries in all important monastic establishments. That its claim to the title of the "Secunda Aula" has hitherto been overlooked, may arise from its having been erroneously considered (as by Ormerod) a sort of crypt, or subterranean building; whereas a little consideration of its level, and the ground around it, will shew us that it has only assumed that character since the sixteenth century.†

In the next vestige of Norman work which comes before us, we find undoubted marks of a later era. This is a vaulted passage running across

* In venturing thus decidedly to dissent from Mr. Ashpitel, I should remark, that the limited time at his disposal during the Congress, and the many constant demands made upon it, gave him little opportunity for more than a very cursory view of the building; and I cannot but think, that had leisure permitted him to examine it as minutely and frequently as I have since done, his conclusion might have been different. I take this opportunity of acknowledging his kindness in assisting me with extracts from the original records, and other data relating to the history of the Cathedral. Neither can I forbear expressing the pleasure afforded to myself and others by his graphic and masterly lectures delivered during the Congress, especially the one undertaken at half an hour's notice, and given extemporaneously on the Church of St. John the Baptist.

Since the above remarks were delivered, a chamber has been discovered at Furness Abbey of almost identical character, and with a similar row of columns running down the centre, by Mr. Sharpe, who gives it the title of the Hospitium, and assigns to it purposes almost the same as I assume for the Secunda Aula.

the south end of the "Secunda Aula," and leading from the Abbot's apartments to the Cathedral. It is groined in exactly the same proportions as the bays of the Norman chamber, and the arches are circular, springing from pillars precisely similar, but the groining is ribbed, and not with cylindrical, but elliptical mouldings. These mouldings stamp a semi-Norman character on the work, being almost a transition to the early English style. Two beautiful Norman doorways gave ingress and egress from this passage, and still remain, though the one which opened to the present west cloister is closed, and sadly disfigured by the alterations of the sixteenth century. The other doorway, to the west, is yet perfect, excepting the shafts of the pillars, which are gone. The capitals supporting one side of the architrave are foliated, and of late character for Norman work.

The remains which stamp the Norman character on the lower part of the north wall of the Nave, are two rude arcades on the north side of the wall, which formed the south side of the present cloisters, and which mark the place of sepulture of the early Abbots. Only four Abbots are specifically named as buried here* :—

Richard, first Abbot, who died in 1117, and was buried in the east end of the south cloister.

William, second Abbot, was buried at the head of Richard, 1140.

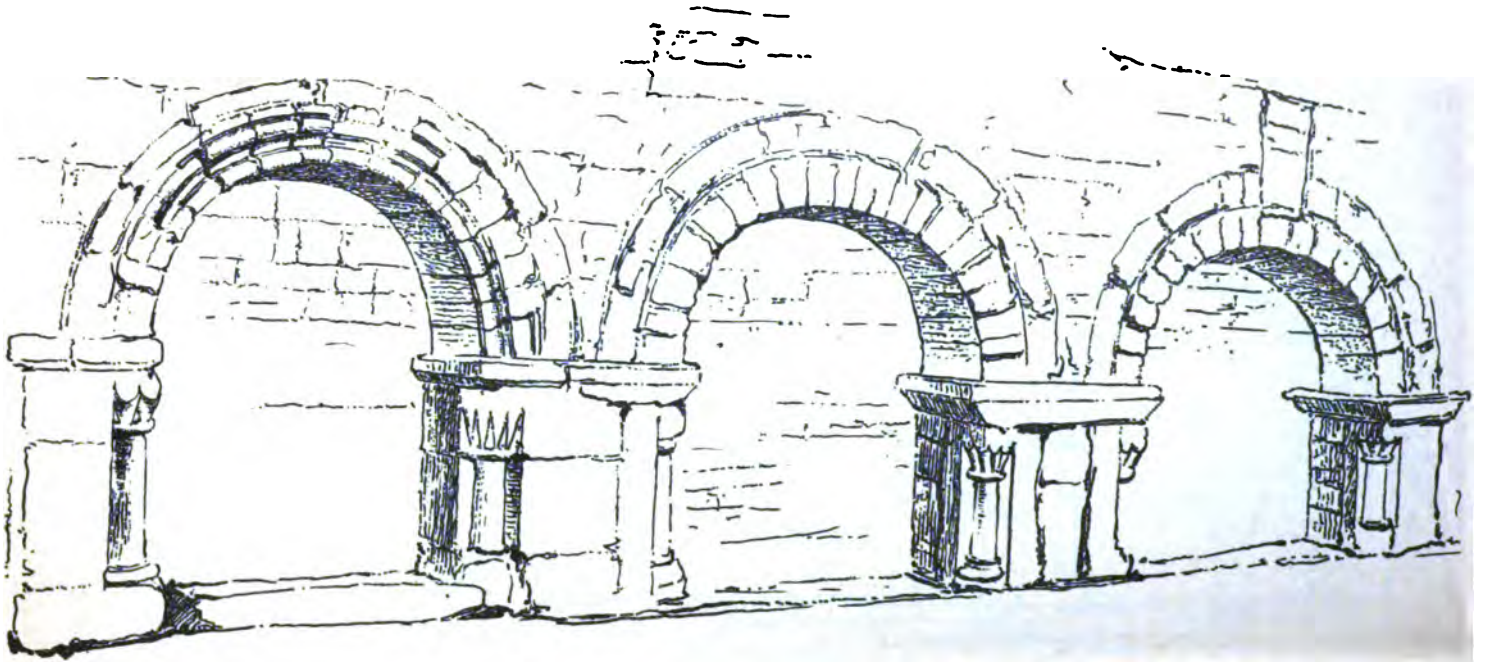
Ralph, third Abbot, was buried at the left side of William, 1157; and

Robert de Hastings, sixth Abbot, was buried at the head of William and Ralph.

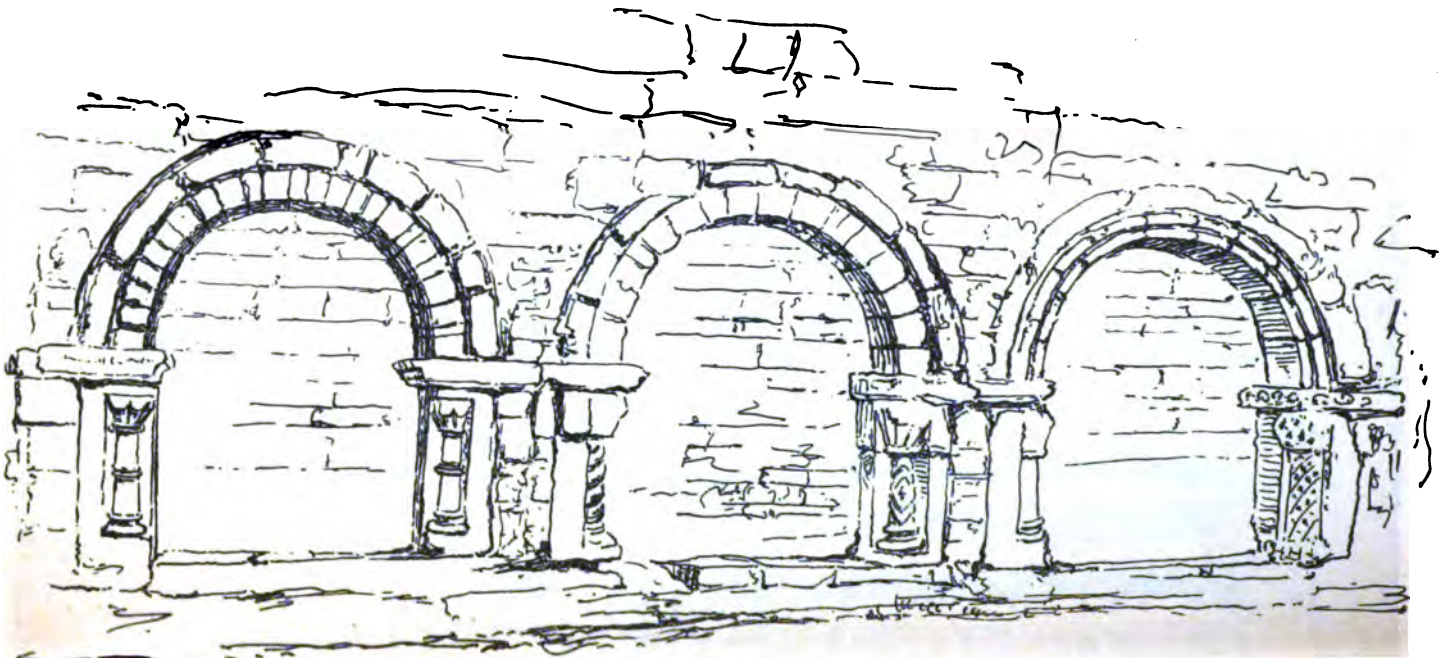
This only accounts for three of the arches, supposing them to have been erected specially to mark separate tombs, but they all bear a late date for Norman work, as far as we can judge from what remains of the architraves, and were probably all built at the same time as the passage from the Abbot's apartments.

At the south end of the east cloister, and forming the present entrance from that cloister to the Cathedral, is a Norman doorway, of about the same date as the arcade adjoining it. The architrave is very ornate, bearing the billet ornament, accompanied by a bead which runs between the mouldings Unfortunately the stone has perished more in this doorway from exposure than in those of the vaulted passage; but still more has been lost from the unmerciful treatment it has received at the hands of the plasterer. It is quite choked up with plaster and colouring, which might, with a little care and trouble, be all removed, and the door restored to something more like its original effect. The capitals of the pilasters are foliated, and identical with those already noticed in the Norman doorway of the vaulted passage.

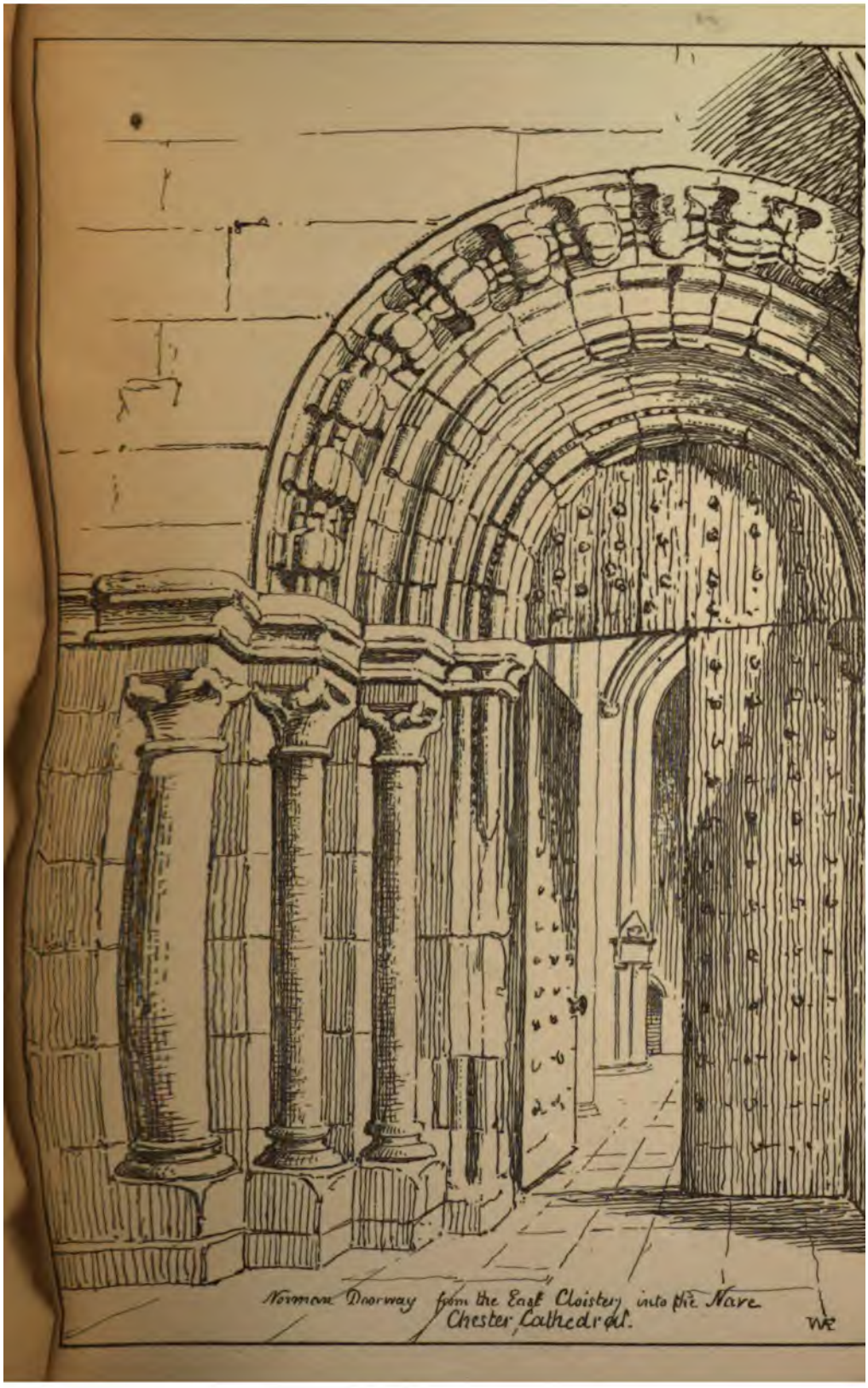
* See a few lines endorsed on a M.S. bound up with the Red Book. Harleian Collection, No. 2071.



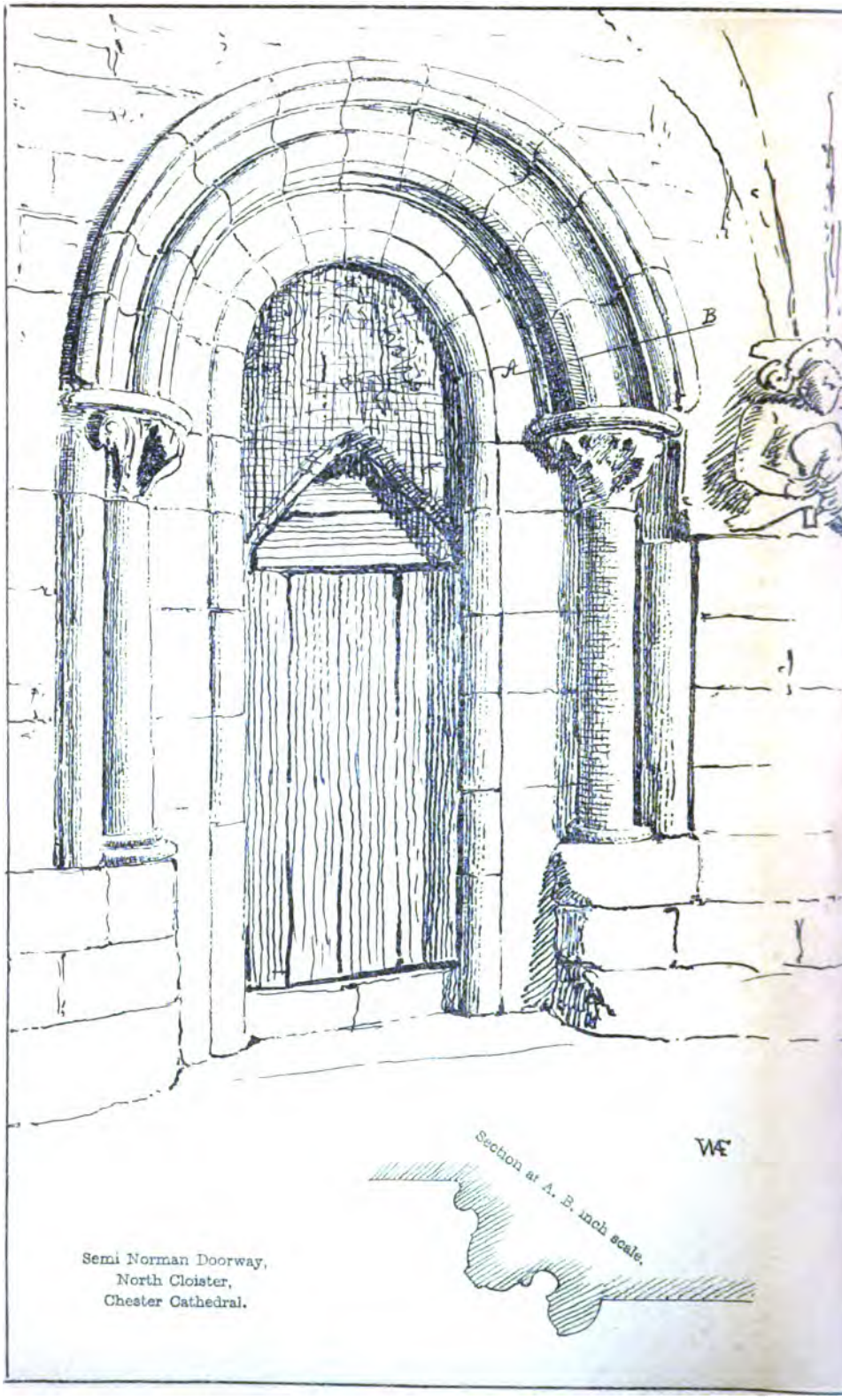
Norman Arcade in the South Cloister. Chester Cathedral.
1850.



South Cloister Chester Cathedral



Norman Doorway from the East Cloistery into the Nave
Chester Cathedral.



Semi Norman Doorway,
North Cloister,
Chester Cathedral.

We now come to a specimen of Norman work of so late date that it will very appropriately terminate our present subject. It would, indeed, as appropriately illustrate the commencement of another,—the Early English era. The Norman semi-circular architrave remains, but its mouldings stamp it as belonging to the transition from Norman to Early English. The capitals of the pillars are foliated, and, as far as their broken perished condition will allow us to judge, are of the "pear" pattern. This doorway belongs to a passage which appears to have run from the Abbey-square to the cloisters, across the west end of the refectory. A former opening to it at right angles with this door is also to be traced in that part of the Norman vault which is under the present Registry, and from the style and size of the doorway which remains, it has been a very principal entrance to that building. The corbels and vestiges remaining of this passage are all of later date even than the semi-Norman doorway, which is one entrance to it, being purely Early English.

In conclusion, I must express my obligations to Mr. Harrison and Mr. Penson, whose plans, measurements, and kind assistance may have given some value to remarks which would have been vague and indefinite without them.

PART II.

Subject of the Birkenhead Bridge,

CONTINUED.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM H. MASSIE,

At a Meeting of the Society, held June 3, 1850.

Having been requested to continue my remarks on the Bridge, an account of which will be found at page 55, and to follow up my description of the *facts*, with some attempt at an explanation of them, I the less hesitate to do so, because the Society will not be committed by every opinion of its members, the Editing Committee having declined to exercise strictly the office of censor, since they lack opportunity to discharge it with satisfaction to themselves and others. What I say then further will be received as hints thrown out by the way, which may stand for as much as they are worth.

And first, to recapitulate the facts. Here is the skeleton of a wooden bridge found buried fourteen feet deep under the silt (counting to the top of the timber); its length 100 feet; its width about 24; and the depth of its roadway three quarters of a yard, of solid beams of oak, placed one above another, in three horizontal layers, for the greater strength. The site of its discovery was where the old road from Monk's Ferry towards Bidstone and Hoylake crossed a shallow but wide watercourse, through which, though sometimes dry, yet, after heavy rains, a considerable stream must have flowed into the Pool of Wallasey. The level of high water, passing a hundred yards or more up a narrow creek, often reached the embankment formed by the high road, which crossed this bed and stopped the tide from ascending further up. The surface of the ground, before it was disturbed, shewed no traces of any thing more than this, being slightly uneven, and overgrown with grass and weeds; and it was only the excavation for foundations of a railway bridge at this spot which first brought to light the frame long buried underneath. It was found

embedded in the marl and sand, and laid across the rocky bed of an ancient rivulet, which once had flowed under the bridge, the ends of the beams resting on the banks of rock, and the middle on supports of unhewn stone. Such were the circumstances of the case so far as I had described them. I had also reminded you of some other mysterious facts of a like kind in the same district; such as stumps of trees, once growing and planted, where now deep waters flow,—cemeteries far below the beach,—light-houses built further and further back in land,—and other traces of the former occupation of the sand-banks in the sea by men who tilled the earth. I had further ventured to say thus much, that whatever may account for these things, may account for the position of the bridge also. The cause, which laid the forest deep under the rolling sea, may have made the same waters to rise to such a height above this bridge, and gradually to deposit silt at each returning tide, until the timbers lay buried under it, some 14 feet at least.

Now, to what age shall we assign the work? Shall we ascribe it to the Monks of Birkenhead? (which is, perhaps, the most obvious suggestion.) I think this hardly possible. True it is, indeed, that the early English bridges were frequently of timber. The old Chester bridge in Edward's reign was such, since the chronicles state that in the year 1297, A.D., the sea broke in, and not only destroyed the bridge over the Dee, but carried it away bodily *(asportavit)*; and other records testify that, when repairs were needed, each hamlet might be taxed to contribute so many trees for the purpose. Indeed, since my last lecture, the remains of another wooden bridge have been dug out of the bed of the River Dee at Bangor Iscoed (Banchor Monachorum), fifteen miles above Chester, which must have been of considerable age, because the stone arches, a little higher up the stream, which were, as the inhabitants suppose, preceded by the timber bridge, are themselves of mediæval structure, though *repaired* at a much more recent date. I have, however, examined the above, and find the beams of much smaller dimensions, and framed in a different manner, and though of oak, yet not all heart by any means, nor so perfectly squared, nor laid one upon another in such extravagant profusion, nor bearing a single mark of its having been the handiwork of the same race of builders as they who made the bridge at Birkenhead. Moreover, the difficulty would be still greater to account for the interment of the last at such a depth within comparatively few centuries. The further we go back, the less the difficulty; and most certain it is, that the analogous instance of the sunken forests (which still would remain to be accounted for) is traceable by the sure testimony of authentic history to a far remoter period. I referred on the former evening to the tour of Giraldus Cambrensis, A.D. 1187, which he made with Archbishop Baldwin, when preaching the crusades through Wales, in Henry the Second's

reign. I then trusted to a vague recollection of what I once had read. I have since with some difficulty found the passage in his journal, and so much more full and to the point it is than I had supposed, that I think it worth while to give the quotation here at length, as highly interesting to all who have investigated the subject of these sub-marine forests. He says, in chap. 13, "On our journey from Haverford to St. David's (Menevia), we passed over Niwegal Sands, at which place, (during the winter that King Henry the Second spent in Ireland,) as well as at almost all the other western ports, a very remarkable circumstance occurred. The sandy shores of South Wales being laid bare by the extraordinary violence of a storm, the surface of the earth, which had been covered for many ages, reappeared, and discovered the trunks of trees cut off, standing in the very sea itself, the strokes of the hatchet appearing as if made only yesterday; the soil was very black, and the wood like ebony; by a wonderful revolution, the road for ships became impassable, and looked, not like a shore, but like a grove cut down, perhaps at the time of the Deluge, or not long after, but certainly in very remote times, being by degrees consumed and swallowed up by the violence and encroachments of the sea."

Now here we have the very same phenomenon which astonishes us to this day, described by one who lived only a century after the Norman Conquest, and this writer testifying to the trees having been cut down by man, but still so long before his time as to be lost in obscurity, nor even explained by any existing tradition. We need not indeed go back with him to the Deluge, but it would be hard to stop short of the Roman sway among us at all events. And, as regards our bridge, what race so likely to have undertaken such works and passages of rivers? The probability even at first view lies all in favour of the notion: it certainly leaves more room, as regards time, for vast changes to have taken place between sea and land. I know there are some people who call every thing Roman,—every broken pot, and every copper farthing dug out of the ground,—and this drives others into the very contrary extreme, to suspect every vestige of that nation, and to ridicule the idea of things which, nevertheless, are beyond a doubt traceable to them as their origin and cause. The real wonder is that we do not find more of the busy doings of that busy people left behind, considering they sojourned here for near 400 years.*

Let us then take for our "*primâ facié*" case, the supposition that this bridge *may* have been a Roman work, and proceed to examine into the particulars for evidence, either to support or overthrow it. Is there any thing in the circumstances to contravene the notion?—And first,

* I have Roman pieces found in Chester coined near 400 years after the Christian era, and indeed it would be inexplicable but by the well known fact that, if we would look for "Britannia Romana," we must seek it in a stratum some yards under ground.

Of all the races who have occupied this country in former ages, there is no other to which we could, on the evidence of history, ascribe works of this substantial character; but that the Romans did commonly execute such designs on a gigantic scale, in every part of the land, is certain, when forming their military ways. Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, one of the secretaries to a kindred Association (the Cambrian), has reminded me of a passage in Herodian, one of the historians of the empire, who, describing the preparations of Severus for his march from London on his expedition against the Northern Britons, says, "that the Emperor kept putting off their ambassadors, to gain time, until every thing was arranged to facilitate the advance of his army and ensure success; but particularly he took care to secure all the marshy places with bridges, so that the soldiers might move forward as on solid ground, and might the more easily cross such bogs, and if attacked, have some footing to fight from; for," he adds, "most of the coasts of Britain being continually washed by the ebbings and flowings of the sea, are wet and marshy."* And Dio Cassius, another historian of those times, relates how Severus, in traversing the island, "surmounted difficulties untold, and effected vast works, cutting down the woods, and levelling the heights and embanking the marshes, and making junctions and passages of the streams."† And Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, describing the preparations for the struggle with Galgacus, uses language to the same effect. But there is hardly need for so many proofs of what every one must know, that Roman soldiers *could* do, and *would* do, and actually *used* to do such things as these, in every province, and on every line of march, and therefore, of course, in England too. What I have more need to shew is, that the bridges which they constructed for the passage of troops over the rivers were of the same general character as the one which is the subject of this paper, and, in proof, I have only to refer you to the well-known description of Cæsar's passage over the Rhine. The engraving given in some editions of what we may suppose his bridge to have been, exhibits quite a similar kind of framework. Cæsar, in his boastful way, there gives an extraordinary reason for using such means in preference to boats: "It would not be in accordance with the dignity and greatness of the Roman nation to have recourse to ferries." It was their glory to go straightforward on their course,—like the mighty men in Joel,—whether heights or depths, or woods, or streams stood across their way. His bridge he therefore built level and direct, "of eighteen inch timber *(sesquipedalia tigna)*, the piles driven into the bed of the river, so inclined as to counteract its current, the longitudinal beams *(directa ligna)* framed with rafters laid across, and the roadway formed of joists with beds of faggots and of brushwood."‡ And just such a simple, straight, substantial structure in its main features (though on so much

* Herodian, lib. 3. c. 14. † Dio Cas. lib. 76. ‡ Cæs. lib. 4, c. 17.

smaller a scale) was this buried bridge, equally well calculated to bear the tramp of a heavy-armed column of soldiers marching compactly forwards. I find by exact measurement the timbers to be eighteen inches wide, (corresponding with Cæsar's *sequipedalia ligna,)* though in order to secure sufficient depth and strength they were laid in three 9-inch thicknesses one upon another. The bed of the rivulet being rocky would render piles in this case impossible, and perhaps the intended permanency of the road would give the preference to either a causeway or supports of stone. As to the breadth of the way (24 feet), it answers, as well as the size of the beams, to the usual practice of the Romans, as may be found by reference to General Roy's Military Antiquities, which describe the greater Roman roads in the North of England as "varying from 18 to 24 feet wide," for the Romans generally followed one uniform scale in all their public works. A portion of one of the beams, six feet long at least, was sent to me by way of specimen. It is all heart of oak, without marks of saw or iron nail any where upon it: it has been well squared by the adze, and has mortice holes, some perpendicular, some inclining, evidently for the purpose of receiving the uprights and sloping pieces of a cross-railed parapet, which would serve also to bolt and bind the threefold rafters into one, by means of the tenons passing through; such was the common form of parapet to their wooden bridges *(or pons sublicius)*, as any one may see even on their coins.

I find no reason, then, in the construction and details of the framework to overthrow the supposition we set out with, but rather every thing to strengthen it, that this bridge has been built by Romans, and has formed part of one of their greater military roads, (as the width shews,) the secondary roads being only about 16 feet across.

But this *conclusion* does not bring the subject to a close; it does but bring us round again to the further question still: granting the structure to be of Roman origin, how came it to be buried under the ground? What can have taken place since that mighty nation sojourned here to account for the existence of a bridge, once formed and used by them, now so far below the level at which it could possibly be used at present? and whither and whence could such a road have led? Perhaps this is the most interesting point of the inquiry, and the answer I shall give may startle many who have not considered the subject, and are not acquainted with the arguments maintained by the best of our local historians.

I believe, then, that this is a continuation of the great military way leading from the ancient Coccium "and the North," direct to the mouth of the River Dee, where troops would naturally embark for Ireland,* or for

* Even in William the Third's reign Dawpool or Hoylake was used as a place for military embarkation. At Mock-beggar Castle there is a picture of the King reviewing his troops on Leasowe, previous to embarking for the Battle of the Boyne.—*Mortimer's Wirral.*

any expedition on the coasts of the Irish Sea, and that such amazing changes have taken place on the face of this part of the country, that, when such road existed, the passage from Liverpool to Hoylake was altogether by land, and not by water. If any outlet there was at the present mouth of the Mersey, it was at the most a mere creek, through which the waters of the pool might wend their narrow way; and the tide, which now pours so impetuously into the gulf of Liverpool and out again, had no such liberty in the days of which we speak. The reasons I gave for this opinion in my lecture I do not produce at so great length here, because I find them amply enumerated and enlarged on in a little pamphlet sent to me by Mr. Picton since our meeting, which I would commend to any one as the very pattern of what a dissertation ought to be.

He quotes from the *Gentleman's Magazine of July*, 1796, which describes the stocks of trees and remains of ancient forests as extending far into the sea opposite Crosby, so as once to have occupied the very sands which are now covered by the tides.* He gives proofs of the same thing in front of Liverpool:† and of the very site of this town itself he says, "it was for ages a pool into which the surface drainage from the high ground to the eastward flowed." In the year 1829, on sinking the foundation for the Custom-house to the solid rock, underneath a thick deposit of silt they met with a layer of sea sand, and below this again a firm blue marl, in which were intermixed fibres of plants and decomposed leaves, and deeper still a stratum of black peat, about a foot in thickness, intermixed with nutshells, leaves, and broken boughs. The stump of one very large oak tree was found in its native bed, 27 feet below high-water level, and near it antlers of the stag and other bones. In the year 1828, he adds again, (quoting from the *Courier* of that date,) "during spring tides the bar between the Rock point and Wallasey hole was nearly laid bare, and it was discovered that a number of stones of considerable size, say three or four feet thick, lay stretched across, extending from one side to the other, assuming the appearance of a ford." Again, "if the sand banks at several miles distance from the present shore be penetrated to a sufficient depth, evidence of their covering what was formerly dry land is furnished by grass, peat, and other vegetable matter being found buried underneath:" and he comes to the conclusion that a gradual subsidence has been going on about these parts from hidden causes in the bowels of the earth, making its crust to shrink and settle down at the average rate of a foot in every century, or near it.

* Mortimer, in his History of Wirral, says, "There is plenty of evidence that the sands at the mouth of the Mersey once formed a continuation of the forests of Lancashire, which reached from Formby even past Hoyle banks, overlapping the shores of Wirral."

† Leland says, "For Lyrpool lyeth a ten miles into the land from the mouth of Mersey water," which shews what changes even three centuries have wrought.

In some places, indeed, phenomena of a similar character may be and must be accounted for by the encroachments of the sea, and the washing away of soil and sand, until places once far in land are dashed against by the tides, and drawn by degrees (as Dymchurch and Reculver) into the vortex of the deep. This, as we have seen, was Giraldus' solution of the difficulty. In other instances a sudden earthquake or inundation, or the bursting of a saturated bog, or the continual accumulation of debris, age by age, has made the water and the sand to change their place. But none of these causes are sufficient to account for the comparatively recent, and *still continued* extensive interchanges from time to time occurring on our western coast. As for the position of our bridge itself, so far below the tides, we cannot ascribe it to earthquake or inundation; any such sudden convulsion would have destroyed its level, and probably its construction altogether. But certainly a gradual subsidence, or periodical sinking, if extensive, would be sufficient to explain every phenomenon: such a process would cause the Mersey to flow now in a mighty tide, where once the wooded copse of oak and hazel grew,—where once great armies marched on solid ground,—where once were formed quiet cemeteries for the dead; and such a cause is consistent too with the description of this region left us by the earliest geographers. It has long been remarked and wondered at, that Ptolemy, who wrote his description of the world in about A.D. 150, at the very time when the Romans were in full glory here, and having the means to learn on the best authority, from those who had held high posts of honour in this land, the true position of each principal river at the least, should have given no place upon his map to the mouth of the River Mersey. In making his circuit of the island, he enumerates from north to south the bays and estuaries each in their proper place, one after another, as they occurred and still occur: the Solway frith—the Moricambe bay—the haven of the Setantii, or Sistuntii (about Fleetwood)—the tidal Belisama, or Ribble (evidently contracted from Rivus Belisama or Rib-Bel as Rib-chester from Rive-castrum)—and so on southwards, but allowing between the Ribble and the Conway only one outlet to the sea, which is now by universal consent allowed to be the mouth, where the Dee (which was celebrated even then) empties itself still into the Irish Sea. The views of the learned Whittaker have been quite refuted by the more extended investigation of later years, which assigns Belisama to the Ribble and the Seteian estuary (εισχυσις) to the wide expanse of "ancient hallowed Dee."* It is also another authenticated feature in the geography of this quarter of the country, that Cheshire

* Imperfect as Ptolemy's geography of the interior is, his knowledge of the maritime outline of Britain is evidently in general correct, the means of information being so much easier as regards the coast: and Richard of Cirencester makes Ribchester and Carlisle chief towns of the Sistuntii.

formerly included a large part of Lancashire as far as the Ribble, being apparently a consequence of the non-separation of the two. Moreover, the Ribble was in the Roman times what the Mersey is to us at the present day, in point of depth and width of channel, and frequented navigation; while Ribchester, or Rivecastrum, was, in the same age, what Liverpool is now as a mart of commercial importance. The tidal current of the Mersey having forced itself a passage has, at the same time, by its sandbanks and deposits on each side, tended to stifle the older stream of the Ribble, and render it what it is, scarcely by all the aids of art a navigable canal.

Having arrived so far then in our arguments, the only further question which requires an answer is, if the Mersey had little or no outlet where it now has, where did it flow then? How did its stream, which rises in Derbyshire, and runs past Manchester and Warrington to Runcorn, find a sufficient vent? Some way of escape it must have had, no doubt, and where was this?

Some have imagined through the pool of Wallasey, in the direction of Hoylake somewhere; but Mr. Picton refutes this idea, and urges as one strong argument against it, that across the very mouth of the valley, where the river must in that case have disembogued, the sub-marine forests occur, proving the existence of dry land there from times the most remote.

The more probable opinion is, that the river, instead of returning with so abrupt an elbow as it now does to the north at Weston Point (see the map of Cheshire), pursued its onward course in a direct line to Chester. Thus it would naturally flow over the low marshes of Thornton-in-the-Moors (now choked with bog), past Stoke and Croughton, Wervin, Back*ford*, (whose very name still intimates something of the kind), and so on, between Moston and Mollington, under the College banks, near Stone Bridge, to the Dee, where the two streams united would form a mightier current than at present; and, passing under Blacon Point, would help the returning tide to scour a deeper channel to the sea, and combine to form the great Seteian estuary.

Let any one in his rambles only walk along the track here described, as I have often done myself,—let him note the wide and deep valley which has once been evidently a bed where no slight stream has flowed, and he cannot fail to be impressed with the evidence he sees.* And when he further is informed by the geologist that marine shells have often been dug up from some depth below the surface, and observes that the obvious facility of the course has suggested the forming of a canal along the valley, connecting the Mersey and the Dee; and when he learns on good authority

* A singular romantic valley occurs in Croughton, the bottom covered with sand and sea gravel, which favours the theory of the Mersey having passed through the valley between the hundreds of Wirral and Broxton to its confluence with the Dee under the walls of Chester.—Ormerod ii. 210.

that only a slight elevation would cause the Mersey still to overflow the land,* and that it often has endeavoured to sweep the hindrances away at Stanlaw, and recover its ancient channel to the Dee ;† and when he finds Liverpool described in legal documents as "a creek and a member in the port of Chester," and observes in Speed's maps, not 300 years old, a considerable breadth of water even then marked from Stanlaw Abbey and Ince (Inys, the island) to Stone Bridge, he will end, I think, in something approaching to conviction that the very fact he was so sceptical about is, indeed, not only possible but probable, and as sufficiently demonstrated as anything can be by circumstantial evidence.

As for the River Mersey having at present so deep a bed where we have supposed none to have existed once, in this there is no difficulty. Once allow from any cause that the waters of the pool forced a passage out by Crosby,—whether by sudden convulsion, or gradual sinking, or only by slighter means,—and the power of water would easily do the rest. There were no Acts of Parliament, no care perhaps, in Saxon times, to say to the threatening waves, "keep to your old course." The tide admitted into the bowl would soon in its return treat mountains as molehills, and leave the other channel nearly dry without interference of man; nay, in the process of time, it would rather concern his interests to complete what nature had begun, and raise artificial embankments to keep back the rising waters altogether from the land, which we know was actually done at Stanlaw.

And now, having answered all objections, I conclude with a hope that you will allow me, at all events, to have had more reason and authority for the explanation I have given than was at first supposed.

* The embankment of the railway and canal meeting under Moston would, however, effectually prevent this now.

† The Chartulary of St. Werburgh states that, A.D. 1279, *Mare erupit 3, non. feb. die Stæ Werburgæ et incredibilia mala fecit apud Stanlaw et alibi, insuper pontem Cestriæ confregit at asportavit, cursum solitum supra modum excedens.*

N.B. I have been told, since this lecture, that a bridge of similar character has been brought to light on the Continent, which bore traces of Roman work, and the name of Germanicus in some way connected with it. Does any one know more of this? It is said to be recorded in one of Knight's volumes.

End of the Papers read to Midsummer, 1850.

COIN OF MARC: AURELIUS SHEWING THE USUAL FORM OF ROMAN PARAPET.

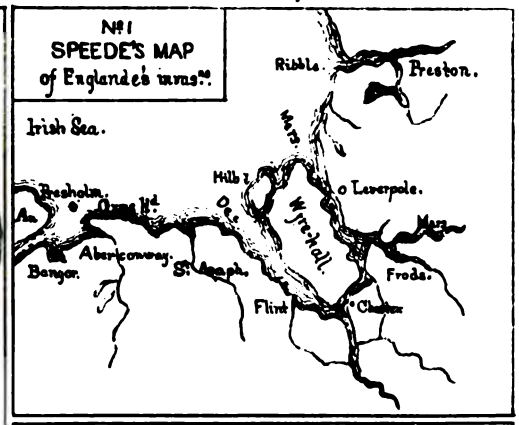


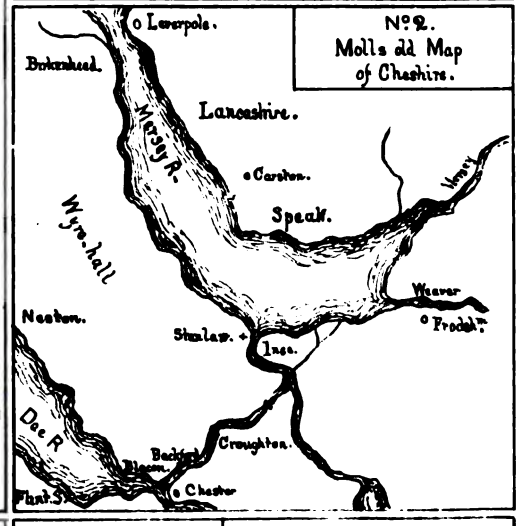


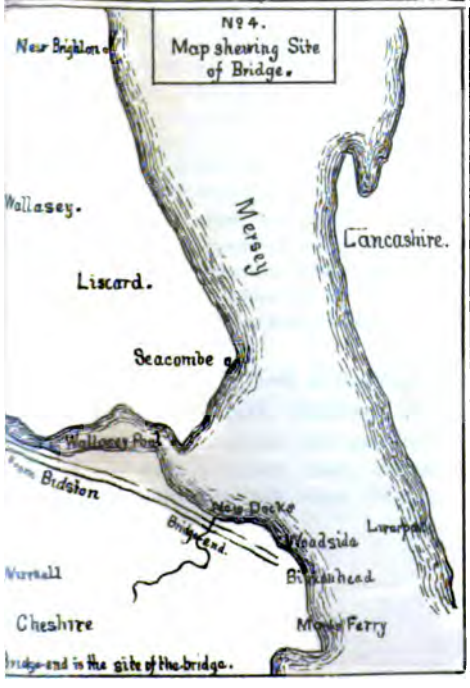
FRAGMENT OF BEAM, DUG UP AT BIRKENHEAD: EIGHTEEN INCHES WIDE BY NINE DEEP SOLID OAK.
THE WHOLE BEAM WAS MORE THAN THIRTY FEET LONG
THESE LAY ONE UPON ANOTHER IN THREE LAYERS.

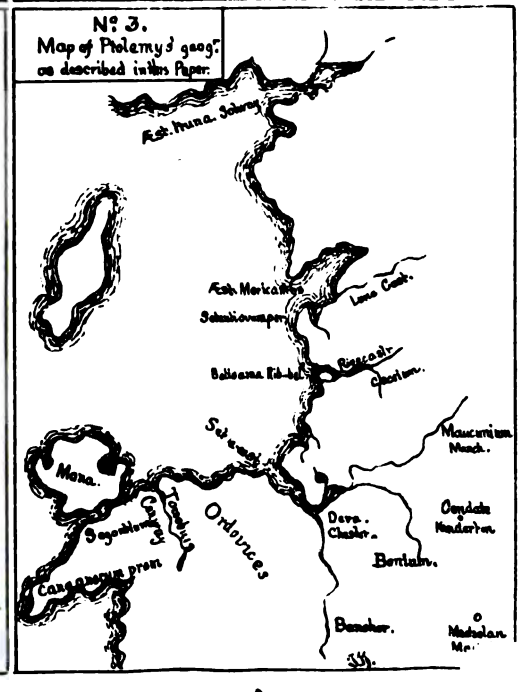


SECTION OF THREE BEAMS RESTING ON ROCK.









APPENDIX.

Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council to Midsummer, 1850.

At a meeting held at the Rectory of St. Mary's-on-the-hill, on Friday, June 1st, 1849, THE VERY REV. THE DEAN in the chair, the following members were enrolled, on the terms laid down in the rules:—

The Most Noble the Marquess of Westminster, Lord Lieutenant of the County.
The Right Rev. J. Graham, D.D. Lord Bishop of the Diocese,
The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Combermere, P. G. M.
Sir E. S. Walker, Mayor of Chester.
The Very Rev. F. Anson, Dean of Chester.
The Rev. H. Raikes, Chancellor of Chester.
The Venerable Isaac Wood, Archdeacon of Chester.
C. Potts, Esq. Chairman to the Corporate Improvement Committee.
The Rev. T. Eaton, Canon in residence.
The Rev. A. Rigg, Principal of the Training College.
J. Williams, Esq. Old Bank, Treasurer to the Society.
Messrs. James Harrison, Wm. Ayrton, J. Hicklin, and Rev. W. Massie, Secretaries.
(The above being all *ex officio* members of the Council of Management.)

Also, Messrs. Benjamin Baylis, T. R. P. Royle, H. Robertson, and T. M. Penson, appointed of the Council in right of their profession; Messrs. W. Harling, H. Brown, J. Morris, S. Davies, G. Prichard, H. Churton, and P. Humberston, lay members elected; Reverends F. Ford, R. Gleadowe, W. Harrison, J. Haworth, W. Marsden, clerical ditto.

The above, whether *ex officio* or elected, constituted the original Council, being chosen according to the rules, though taken for this year in the order of their application for enrolment. In future two in each of the last three classes will go out annually by rotation, to be succeeded by others elected at a General Meeting.

At a meeting held at the same place on June 22, 1849, THE REV. THE CHANCELLOR in the chair (and on several successive Fridays), the following additional members were enrolled:—

Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart.; Sir Herbert Maddock; Dr. Llewellyn Jones, M.D.; Rev. Canons Blomfield, Slade, Hillyard, Thurlow; T. Helps, J. Rogers, R. Wilbraham

W. H. Harper, W. Brown, E. Roberts, T. Dixon, T. Catherall, W. Morris, E. Hodkinson, E. Parry, T. Cox, and H. Ley; Reverends W. Clarke, W. E. Dickson, J. Wickham, H. P. Ffoulkes, and F. Rowell; Mrs. Williams, of Gwersyllt, Miss Currie, Miss Massie, the Misses Ford, Miss Potts, Miss Porter, and Miss Harrison.

Those who have been added from time to time to the above original list will be found entered in the complete alphabetical roll at the beginning of the volume.

At a meeting held at St. Mary's Rectory on Friday, July 6th, an invitation was received to visit Nantwich Church, in order to promote the object of its renovation.—Mr. Baylis was urged to complete his promised map of Chester on a useful scale, shewing the risings of the ground, and the depths at which rock is met with in excavation, &c.—A discovery of many human skeletons on the Mount at Mold was reported, but as they seemed to have been buried as Christians with their feet to the east, and on other accounts, it was thought advisable to abstain from meddling in the matter.—The attention of Mr. Bailey, deputed by the British Archæological Association, was called to a portion of the City Walls near the Phœnix Tower and Northgate, as bearing traces of Roman structure; plans were also devised for the opening of the large Norman Chamber, west of the Cloisters, which had long been closed and filled with rubbish, and which Ormerod describes as the storehouse and cellar of the Abbot.—The rooms of the County Court were engaged for the temporary purposes of the Society.—The subject of tombs and gravestones was recommended to attention by the Rev. J. Haworth, with reference to the new Cemetery, shortly to be opened.

At a meeting held at the County Court, December 24, 1849, Sir E. WALKER, Mayor, presiding, plans for the restoration and re-arrangement of St. John's Church were presented by Mr. James Harrison.—It was resolved also to distribute a copy of the Journal of the Archæological Congress, held at Chester in August last, to each full and associate member who had paid his subscription for the year.—The Secretary was instructed to subscribe, in the name of the Society, to the Architectural Publication Society.—Agreement was entered into with the proprietors of the City Library for the use of their rooms, and liberty to consult their books, at a rent of £15 per annum, commencing January 1, 1850.—The Secretary was authorised to recommend volumes for purchase, but limited to works of reference, glossaries, &c.—It was agreed that the property of the Society should remain at the City Library, or other appointed place, to be consulted by members on the spot, but not removed.—It was determined that a General Meeting should be held at the Albion large room on the last day of December, 1849, to which the public should be admitted, though, of course, none but members would speak on the

occasion in explanation of the Society's objects. (A report of this meeting will be found at page 10.)

At a meeting of the Council held at the City Library, February 22, 1850, it was resolved that the Monthly Meeting should be held on the first Monday in each month, at seven o'clock in the evening, for the reading of papers and conversational discussion on various subjects, of which all subscribers would have notice.—The first papers appointed to be read were: An Inaugural Address, by the Rev. Chancellor Raikes; the Source and Course of the Dee, by J. Williams, Esq. Mayor; and on Christian Monuments, by J. Hicklin, Secretary to the Society.—A communication was received from the Secretary to the Cambrian Association, proposing a union for editing and other purposes. Every desire was expressed for the closest sympathy and co-operation; but, so many practical difficulties were found in the attempt to carry such a project into effect, that it was obliged to be abandoned for the present.

At a meeting held at the same place, June 21, 1850, a communication was received from the Liverpool Architectural Society of their wish to make Chester the subject of their visit this year, and to request the co-operation of the Society. It was agreed to attend the morning service at the Cathedral with them, to proceed afterwards to an inspection of the building under the direction of the Rev. Canon Slade, and also to invite them to be present at the Monthly Meeting and Discussion, to be held that evening.—It was recommended that sub-committees should be formed for the consideration of various points, preparatory to their being laid before the Council: viz. 1st, for the devising of a seal for the Society; 2nd, on architecture and the fine arts; 3rd, on coins; 4th, on records; 5th, on monuments; 6th, on financial matters; 7th, printing and editing. It was also suggested that members should be generally called upon to contribute papers, to propose subjects for discussion, to state beforehand what particular points they could engage at any time to bring forward, so as to afford the committee opportunity and space for making timely provision for each monthly evening meeting. It is hoped that every subscriber will act upon this suggestion, and examine the contents of his portfolio.

At most of the foregoing committee meetings qooks, prints, and curiosities were presented from time to time, and the thanks of the Society voted accordingly.

To Mr. Field, for a Roman altar found at Boughton, and which is fully described at p. 49 of the Journal of the Chester Congress of the British Archæological Society.

To Sir E. S. Walker, Mayor, Mr. Baylis and Mr. Andrews, for a Roman pig of lead found in an excavation near Commonhall street, also described in the same journal, p. 50.

To Mr. W. Ayrton, for rubbings of brasses from Macclesfield Church, also described in the same journal, p. 82.

To Miss Ford, for ditto from Beaumaris Church.

To Mr. James Harrison, for ditto from Ormskirk, and for many from ancient stones and slabs in St. John's Church, and elsewhere.

To Ditto, for his plan for the re-arrangement of St. John's Church, by which 75 additional sittings would be gained, and the comfort as well as the appearance of the interior greatly improved.

To Mr. Warne, for his model of the Roman amphitheatre, excavated at Dorchester.

To Rev. F. Raines, for two original deeds concerning Stanlaw and Whalley Abbeys.

To Sir E. S. Walker, for a portfolio of prints and lithographs of cottages and architectural buildings.

To the Rev. the Chancellor, for Charter of Henry IV. on Lancaster Duchy, &c.

To Mr. Snow, for drawings and maps of the site and plan of the bridge found buried at Birkenhead.

To Rev. Wm. Massie, and Mr. Watkin Massie, for large engravings and lithographs of York and Canterbury Cathedrals.

To Miss Harrison, for a large collection of elevations and plans, drawings, &c. left by her father, the late eminent architect of the Castle and New Bridge.

To Mr. W. Ayrton, for drawings of the Norman remains of Chester Cathedral, Wervin, &c. and of the figures which form the pinnacles of Gresford tower.

To Messrs. Barry and Browne, architects, for lithographs of some of their recent churches.

To the Antiquarian Etching Club, for several parts of their etchings.

To the Rev. W. Massie, for a folio volume of outlines from the most perfect of the Elgin marbles.

To the Rev. J. Haworth, for a sheet of designs for headstones over graves.

To the Historic Society of Lancashire, for the first number of their transactions (1848).

To the Association at Abbeville, for ditto.—To the Numismatic Society, ditto.

To the British Archæological Association, for their handsome gift of the volumes of their proceedings at Gloucester and Winchester, as well as for their journal, Vol. III., and sundry other pamphlets.—To Mr. Roach Smith, for ditto.

To Ditto, for 50 copies of their Journal of the Chester Congress, allowed at cost price.

To Mr. Halliwell, for occasional papers and small pamphlets.

To Rev. R. W. Gleadowe, for Cutts' handsome and valuable vol. on monumental slabs.

To Mr. Hicklin, for a vol. of Roman remains at Caerlleon.

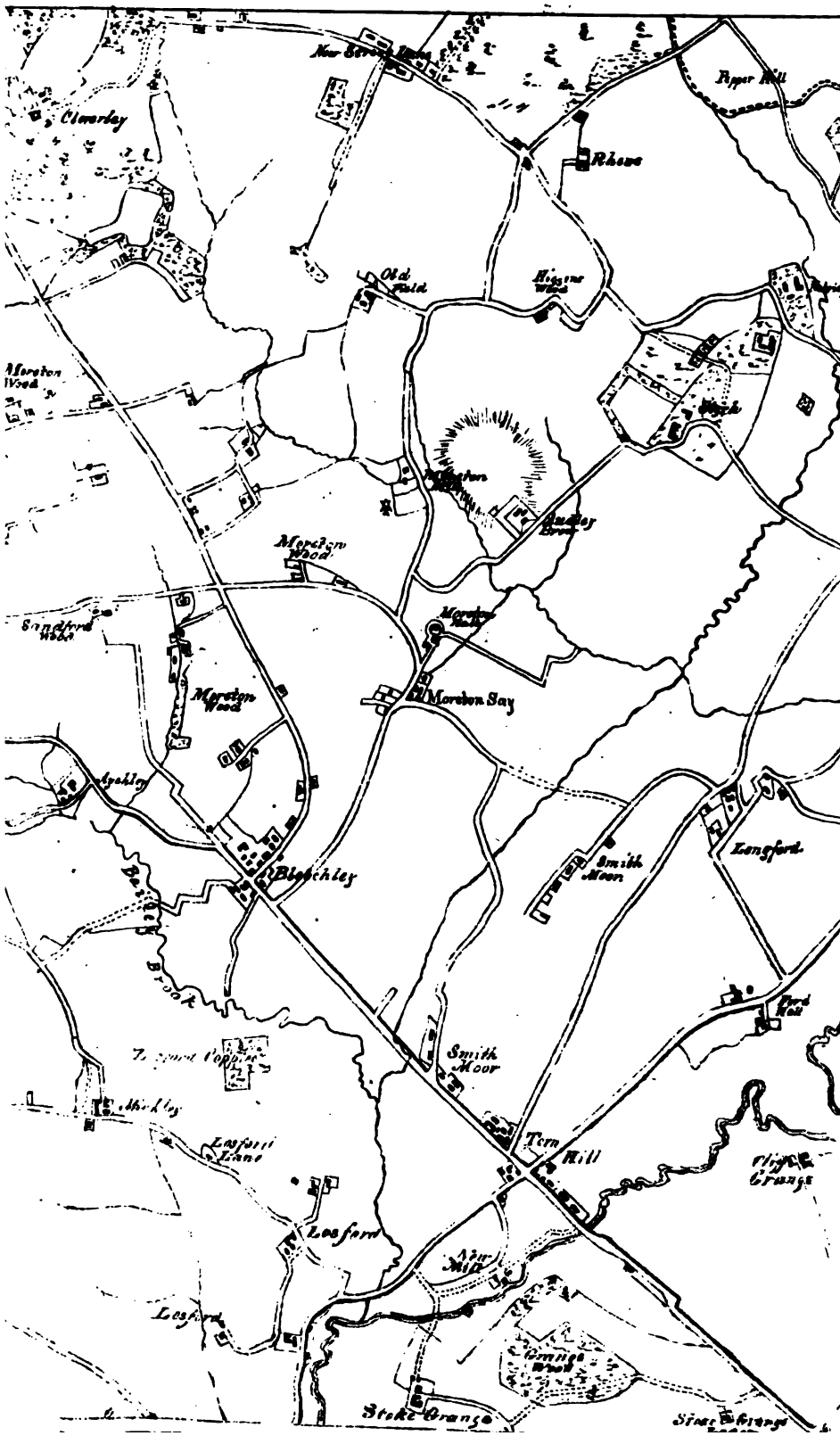
To Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, for his memoir of the Brereton family.

There have also been secured at the expense of the Society, drawings of the interior and exterior of the Magazine, commonly called *Julius's* Tower, with a view of the semi-Norman Chapel *in* it, by Mr. Treppass—an admirable lithograph of the Choir of Chester Cathedral, by the same; also a lithographic view, by Miss Jackson, of the Norman groined Chamber, lately opened, at the Cathedral—architectural elevations of Davenham Tower and Spire, with the moldings in detail—Parts 1 to 4 of the Architectural Publication Society—two large volumes of Brandon's Practical Illustrations of Gothic Architecture, price five guineas—Boutell on monuments—Brand's Popular Antiquities—Glossary of Heraldry—Fairholt's Glossary of Costumes—Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words—Osmond's Christian Memorials, &c.

The above abstract of the proceedings in committee, and articles presented or purchased, is only carried down to Midsummer, and so this Number ends.

FINIS.




Clemsley
Rhese
Upper Mill
Old Field
Moreton Wood
Moreton Say
Moreton Hall
Sandford Wood
Moreton Wood
Apsley
Blakchley
Brook
Smith Moor
Longford
Smith Moor
Tern Hill
Loxford
Loxford
Stoke Grange
Stoke Grange

The Battle of Blore Heath.

BY MR. W. BEAMONT.

HISTORY is like a stream; as the one is fed by a thousand springs and rivulets which pour their waters into the channel as it rolls forward, so the other is made up of the annals and chronicles which each successive age produces, and which it becomes the business of the historian to reduce into shape for our instruction. But as we shall be only partially acquainted with the character of the stream if we only see it flowing in peace and quiet through some level plain, when its waters have perhaps contracted impurity from the richness of the soil, and do not also trace it as it wanders sparkling down the hill side, making music as it dashes over the obstructions that oppose its career, so we shall not derive the full benefit of history unless we occasionally pause in our reading to consider more in detail some great event which meets us, and gain more vivid views of the actual occurrence by borrowing for a time the lights and assistance of the chroniclers who record it. Thus reading history the student may hope to gain a truer insight into the manners and features of the particular time to which his attention is directed, to understand better the advantages or disadvantages which society then enjoyed, and to compare the condition of a past age with his own. If these remarks are true as applied to the study of history in general, they apply to English history with increased force; for if it be true that history teaches by example, where can the English student so fitly go as to our national annals for those examples which are to inform his own mind, and to light within him that lamp of knowledge which may perchance enable him to assist others?

The battle of Blore Heath, which proved so fatal to the people, including a large portion of the gentry of this county, has appeared to me one of

those historic events which is worthy of the consideration of this society, and I have therefore chosen it as a fit subject to be brought under your notice this evening.

It will be my aim to notice briefly the circumstances which led to the battle, to glance cursorily at some habits of the time, and after giving a short description of the battle and its immediate results, to offer a few observations by way of conclusion.

In the year 1455, as you are all aware, there happened the first battle of St. Albans, in which, according to the chroniclers, there were slain of the King's party not less than 5,000 men, many of whom were noblemen and other persons of distinction. The struggle thus begun, had continued with conflicting success for nearly three years, when a thought worthy of his high office occurred to Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, that some effort should be made to reconcile the contending parties, and to ensure the future peace of the kingdom. Accordingly, by his active instrumentality, the rival parties assembled in London, and in a public procession of the Court to St. Paul's, on the 25th March, 1458, the leaders of the rival parties walked arm in arm through the streets, in testimony of a general oblivion of their former hatred and animosity. But that peace which was of old supposed to result from the immolation of victims over a hero's grave, could not be purchased by the recent holocaust of 5,000 men, and out of the heat thus engendered was speedily hatched that cockatrice of civil discord which, after raging abroad for more than a quarter of a century, was not satiated until he had gorged rivers of the noblest blood of England. The flame which the late reconciliation was supposed to have allayed was soon re-kindled by a circumstance apparently trifling. On the 9th Nov. 1458, as the Earl of Warwick was leaving the Court at Westminster, a quarrel arose between his retinue and one of the King's servants. The quarrel spread amongst their followers until at length great numbers of the partisans on both sides were engaged in it; and the Earl, feigning or fearing that his life was in danger, left London, and hastened into the north to consult his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Duke of York, and having settled with them a plan of future operations, returned to his command in Calais. (*Ling. vol.* 5, *p.* 207.)

Middleham, the Earl of Salisbury's Castle in the north, whither Warwick repaired after the occurrence just related, may detain us for a few moments as a place of some interest in itself and its associations, but more particularly as the cradle of that victorious host which fought at Blore. Dr. Whittaker, who has described this ancient seat of the Nevilles, (*Richmondsh. I.* 342,) still majestic in decay, informs us that it was once the noblest work of man in the circuit of Richmondshire, the county in which it stands, and that those views from its windows up and down Wensleydale, which once gave pleasure to its lords only because the territory was their own,

are now truly delightful to the eye of taste. As a specimen of architecture, continues the same author, it is an unique but not a happy work. The Norman keep, the fortress of its first lords, not being sufficient for the vast trains and princely habits of the Nevilles, was enclosed at a later period by a complete quadrangle, which almost entirely darkened what was dark enough before, and the first structure now stands completely insulated in the centre of a later work of no very ample dimensions, measuring only about 175 feet by 210, and flanked by a square tower at each angle. Within the original building are the remains of a magnificent hall and chapel, and the whole structure is of massy and indissoluble grout-work. Not to repeat again its connexion with Blore, it may here be mentioned, as Dr. Whittaker reminds us, that in and around Middleham have occurred some interesting scenes of English history. It was here the bastard Falconbridge was beheaded in 1471. On a neighbouring plain, Edward IV. whilst engaged in hunting, made his escape from Archbishop George Neville, to whom he was a prisoner at Middleham; and taking a fleet horse to York, and from thence to Lancaster, resumed the reins of government. Here too Edward, the son of Richard III. was born; and here his father, green in years, but old in craft and cruelty, amidst the sports of the field or the appearance of devotion meditated some of those tragedies which time and prejudice have left so mysterious.

Here also may be fitly introduced a remarkable event which occurred at Middleham, in connexion with our immediate subject, and which will be best related in the words of the original narrator. Sir Thomas Harrington, of Hornby, whose story it is, *(Richmondshire II.* 261,) and who had been in ward to the Earl of Salisbury, informs us that

"After y^e^ feast of all Hallows in the xxxvii of Henrye late kynge, Sir Thomas Harryngton was sente fore to come to Myddleham, to Erle of Sarisburie, with whome he was lefte, and there at that time it was concludid by s^d^ Erle and al hys hole counsel, that hee and all suche oth' men of worshipp as then met sholde take ful pte with y^e^ ful noble prince the Duke of Yorke, among which s^d^ Sir Thomas was one. And when y^e^ said Sir Thomas came agen to his castell of Horneby, remembrying hymselfe off y^e^ grete werres and trobles likelie to fall among such mightie princes, not having [fore knowledge] how God would dispose thame, by th' advice of many of his kinsmen and frendes, made a feffment of all his landes to William Bothe, late Archbishope of York, Jhon th' Erle of Shrewsbury, Jhon late Lord Cliford, and divers others, to th' intent that for the same lords war myghty, and in consorte w^h^ y^e^ contrari ptie [they] sholde be faire meaynes, if God fortuned y^e^ feld in y^e^ sayde werres to goo ageyne that ptie that the saide Sir Thomas was opon, and yf y^e^ lawe happened to procede as wel ageyn hym as oder and he be attaynted, shode safe hys landes unforfeted."

The spring and summer which followed this conference of the Yorkists at Middleham were spent in preparations for a general muster of the party in the ensuing autumn. All the feudal retainers of the Nevilles, and all the partisans of the House of York in these northern parts, received an intimation to repair to Middleham as soon as the harvest should be over. Accordingly, the end of August in the year 1459 saw nearly 4,000 men assembled at Middleham prepared to march southward, under the command of the Earl of Salisbury, and with him to try the fortune of war. This was a number too great for the Castle, even in its enlarged dimensions, and the sleeping accommodations of so large a body during the few days of its stay were probably of no very enviable kind. The Castle of Fraser of Lovatt in the last century, when an eye witness described the men at arms who formed its garrison as sleeping altogether on rushes or straw spread in the hall, would probably be no inapt resemblance of Middleham, when it sheltered for a few days the numerous host who shortly set out for Blore. (*Williams's Agincourt*, 1850, *p.* 77.) The ancient method of carrying on war by means of a feudal militia had gone out of use before the times of which we are writing, and the troops who now marched from Middleham were in all likelihood retained after the custom of the age, to serve by indentures for a given time and a given rate of wages.*

The men at arms served on horseback, equipped with the knightly weapons of the time; but the chief strength of the host was in the archers,

* Amongst Sir Tho. de Trafford's deeds there is preserved the following retainer of one of his ancestors, by the celebrated Earl of Warwick, *the king maker*:—"This endenture made ye xxvj day of May, the fyrst yere of ye regne of the king our souvrain lord Edward ye iiijthe between Richard Neville, Erle of Warrewyk and Captain of Callys, of ye one ptie, and Sr John Trafford, knyght, of the otr ptie, bereth wittenesse yt ye said Sr John Trafford, of his fre and mere motion is beleft and reteynned to ward and wt ye said Erle durying ye terme of his lyffe, to be wt hym and do hym svice and attendance agenst all manr psones except hys allegeance. And yt ye said Sr John Trafford shall be redy at ye desir or comandement of ye said Erle to come unto hym... all such tymes and in such places as ye said Erle shal call upon hym or yeve him warnying, sufficient horsed, harnessed, arrayed and accompanyed as ye cas shall requir; and according to yt that ye said Erle shall call him to at ye cost of ye said Erle resonable. And ye said Erle for ye same have graunted unto ye said Sir John Trafford to have by patent undre ye seal of his armes an annyte durying hys lyf of ye sume of xx mrc stg: to be leveyed, taken, and receyved of th' issues and revenues of his lordship of Midelham by ye hands of his receyver yr at ye tymes of Mikelmasse and Pass. and over this ye said Erle hath graunted unto ye said Sir John Trafford yt in tyme of warre he shal have such wages, rewards and profits as oyr personnes of hys degre shal have yeldying unto ye said Erle his iijdes and ye iijde of iijdes in like wise and forme as it is accustomed in ye warre. In witenesse whereof ye yere and day above said ye said pties ent' changeably to ye ptes have put to their seals.

"Sr John Trafford."

who constituted three-fourths of its entire force, and were armed with that genuine English weapon the bow. The usual wages of the archers seems to have been sixpence a day, and of the men at arms exactly twice that sum. Before this large body moved from Middleham, some provision would doubtless be made for their maintenance on the march; and it may be worth our while to inquire in what the commissariat consisted. Our English chroniclers, who are for the most part more apt to tell us how our forefathers fought than how they fed, are very meagre in their information on the latter point. When the Parliament was about to meet at Lincoln, in 28th Edward I. 1300, a writ, tested 9th Nov. at Carlisle, enjoins the Sheriff of Lincolnshire to procure in his bailiwick 400 quarters of corn, 100 beeves, 60 live pigs, and 400 sheep, for the use of the royal hostel, and to deliver the 400 quarters of corn aforesaid, to Walter Waldeshef; and to well salt the 100 beeves and 400 sheep aforesaid, and place them in the larder at Lincoln. *(Proceedings of the Archæological Institute for* 1848, *p.* 29.)

Froissart, in describing the King's advance towards Scotland, in 1341, *(I.* 97,) informs us that his army, which consisted of 6,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry, was detained upwards of a month in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, waiting for their purveyances; and that it was reduced to very great distress in consequence of the ships which conveyed them being lost at sea. He says nothing, however, of the nature of these purveyances. Again, in describing the expedition to France, in 1359, *(I.* 269,) he says, that in the rear of the King's battalion was the immense baggage train, which occupied two leagues in length, and consisted of upwards of 5,000 carriages, with a sufficiency of horses to carry the provision for the army, and those utensils never before accustomed to be carried after an army,—such as hand-mills to grind their corn, ovens to bake their bread, and a variety of necessary articles. Still we have very little information of what the provisions of the army consisted. The word purveyances, used in the above passage from Froissart, will remind us of the right which the King had and exercised under that name in ancient times, of purchasing whatever was necessary for his household, at a fair price, in preference to every competitor, and without the consent of the owner. *(Hallam's Europe, vol.* 3, *p.* 220.) In 1415 and 1417, when the French war was in preparation, or in progress, we glean from the *Fœdera* (vol 9) a few notices which throw a little light upon this subject. There we find warrants to provide and send 200 oxen, *boviculos et vaccas;* to provide 1,000 bacons, and 1,000 quarters of corn, for the use of the King's house, and to brew and to bake sufficient for the King and his retinue. On another occasion we have a safe conduct to a person bringing lampreys for the use of the King and the army. It is, perhaps, more to our present purpose to mention that in the same volume

of the *Fœdera* (288), there is a warrant commanding all lords, knights, esquires, valets, and others, to provide themselves without delay with provisions and other necessaries for one quarter of a year; and Mr. Hunter mentions (*Critical Tracts, No.* 1—*Agincourt, p.* 36) that there was issued to Sir James Harrington's archers from the King's stores during the siege of Harfleur 107 quarters of flour. 23 cwts. of beef, and 18 tuns of wine. In May of the following year the King sent, for the relief of Harfleur, 20 *tonneaux de miel*, (probably for mead,) 100 *tartes de boofs, et* 2,000 *de bacon.* (*Williams's Agincourt, 72 in notes.*)

In the times of which we are writing, Mr. White, of Selborne, (letter 79,) says, when there were few inclosures, and no sown grasses, field turnips, or field carrots, or hay, all the cattle that had grown fat in the summer and were not killed for winter use, were turned out soon after Michaelmas to shift as they could through the dead months; so that no fresh meat could be had in winter or spring. Hence the marvellous account of the vast stores of salted flesh found in the larder of the eldest Spencer, (namely, 600 bacons, 80 carcases of beef, and 600 muttons,) in the days of Edward II. even so late in the spring as the 3rd May. But in those days no larder was well furnished without a large store of salted fish; and we know from his household-book that no less than six barrels of sturgeon, and 6,800 stock of fish were consumed in the household of Thomas of Lancaster, in the course of a single year. Furnished with provisions, such as we have above enumerated, the 4,000 soldiers assembled at Middleham set out upon their dangerous adventures. It was their leader's purpose to join forces with the Duke of York in the neighbourhood of Ludlow; and then, if they should find themselves strong enough, to advance for the first time, openly, the Duke's claim to the throne of England.

We are ignorant of the precise route taken by the insurgent army on the march from Middleham. We know, however, that they advanced through Craven (*Richmondshire II.* 261); and several of the chroniclers inform us that they passed through South Lancashire, where it is probable their numbers were swelled by the addition of 1,000 men, who joined the force as a contingent from the Duke's Yorkshire estates. It would seem that from Manchester they advanced through Cheshire, by way of Congleton, to Newcastle-under-Lyme, from whence they passed on to Drayton, in which neighbourhood, by the concurring testimony of the chroniclers, they arrived on the evening of the 22nd Sept. 1459, when they suddenly found their further progress opposed by an army double their own in numbers.

Queen Margaret, who had been no stranger to the machinations of Warwick since his hasty flight from London, after the affray in the precincts of the Palace, was doubtless well informed by her emissaries of the warlike counsels of the York party, and of the combined movement they

intended, with a view to overawe the King, and, if possible, to wrest the sceptre from his grasp. To counteract this movement, she proceeded with the King and her son, the young Prince of Wales, in the summer of 1459, to make a progress through the counties of Warwick, Stafford, and Chester.

Margaret, at that time 30 years of age, retained those attractions of personal beauty to which Drayton has alluded, in some lines quoted by Miss Strickland, in describing her espousals in the Church of St. Martin at Nancy :—

> Whilst that only she,
> Like to the rosy morning towards its rise,
> Cheers all the Church as it doth cheer the skies.

She was at this time a stranger to those scenes of blood and strife which embittered her after career, and almost changed her nature; and she possessed the happy art of winning the favour of all those whom she approached in her progress. The favour which Margaret gained was confirmed by the training and address of the young Prince, her son, now six years old, a child of great beauty and singular promise, who distributed to the gentry frequenting the Court, more especially the gentry of this county, little silver swans to be worn by them as his cognizance. This emblem, which had been selected with judgment, was the cognizance of Edward III. his renowned ancestor, whose name he bore; and it had also been borne by the Countess of Hereford, the grandmother of Henry V. whose territorial possessions in Herefordshire and Shropshire made her emblem popular in those parts. *(Strickland's Queens, III.* 293*; and Williams's Agincourt,* 62 *in notes.)* By these means, and the strength of the King's name, she had succeeded so well in engaging the loyalty of the country to the royal cause, that a force of 10,000 men, principally from Cheshire and Shropshire, was speedily raised and placed under the command of Lord Audley; and this force it was which was now drawn up near Drayton, prepared to dispute, on the part of King Henry VI. the further progress of Salisbury and the troops now on their march to Ludlow, to join forces with the Duke of York. Some account of the leader of the opposing host will not be out of place here, before we proceed to describe the battle itself.

James Touchet, Lord Audley, eminently a Cheshire man by descent, *(Collins's Peerage, VI.* 646,) was a warrior by inheritance, being the grandson of that illustrious soldier of both his names, whose liberality to his Cheshire squires, as related by Froissart, *(I.* 226,) is amongst the most beautiful episodes of the magnanimity of chivalry, and one hardly knows which to admire most, the noble self-denial of the hero, or the munificence of his prince. Born in the year 1400, Lord Audley had scarcely attained to manhood when the fame of Agincourt and the wars in France fired the martial ardour of the youth of England. From that time Lord Audley had practical experience of the trials and hardships of a soldier's life, and

in after years he might justly have used the boast of another warrior, whom poetry has made immortal, that

His arms had used their dearest action in the tented field.

In the 7th year of his reign, King Henry V. being actively engaged in prosecuting his conquests in France, Lord Audley was in the host with the King, and shared in all the undertakings of the campaign. The following year the King made another expedition to France, and again took Lord Audley with him, when he was engaged at the siege of Molyn on the Seine, and is mentioned with particular honour. None knew better than his warlike master how to appreciate a gallant commander, and accordingly he was marked out for distinction at the coronation of the King and Queen, where we find him officiating in the place of the Earl of Cambridge, who was absent. He did not, however, remain long in England after the coronation, for in the 9th Henry V. he was again serving in the wars in France, and engaged at the siege of Meaux, which, as we learn from Sismondi, (*Hist. France, vol.* 9, *p.* 154,) was attended with such varied success. The following year death closed his great master's earthly career; and Lord Audley, who had so lately taken part in the glories of the coronation, followed the hearse which contained his remains from the Bois de Vincennes to Paris, and from thence to Calais and Dover, and dutifully paid his last tribute at his obsequies at Westminster. The infantile hands into which the great warrior's sceptre had fallen required strengthening, and Lord Audley, in the 4th Henry VI. was one of the lords who assembled in parliament at Leicester, and there made oath to acquit themselves truly, justly, and indifferently, in all matters or quarrels for the sure keeping of the King's peace, and redressing all proceedings contrary thereto. On the 27th April, in the 8th Henry VI. he embarked with the King at Dover on a voyage for France, where he was entrusted with the chief command of some forces engaged in that service; and the war still continuing, the next year Thomas, Earl of Perth, Edmund, Earl of Mortaign, and Walter, Lord Fitzwalter, were sent to reinforce him. A long interval now occurs before we again meet with the name of Lord Audley. It is probable that he had now exchanged the spear and shield for the weeds of peace. But when the House of Lancaster required his services, Lord Audley was always ready to answer to the call; and in 35th Henry VI. in consequence of an apprehended insurrection, he was commissioned by the King to summon on any emergency the Sheriff and *posse comitatus* of Herefordshire to suppress any designs formed by the King's enemies. (*Collins' Peerage VI.* 546.) Out of this commission probably arose that high command, for which his former services were supposed to have fitted him, and with which he was now entrusted at Blore. During his long career, Lord Audley had been eminently faithful to

the House of Lancaster, and in an age when men were observed frequently to change sides without remorse, and the red rose became colourless, he had broken no faith, but had preserved unchanged his allegiance and fidelity.*

Parliamentary sanction, without which, as Mr. Hallam observes, no dynasty has reigned in England since the Conquest, and with which a dynasty has often prevailed in opposition to hereditary right, was certainly on the side of the reigning Monarch. His house too had held possession of the throne for sixty years, and oaths of allegiance by the nation at large had often been tendered to him. These constituted in the reigning Monarch a strong presumptive title to the sceptre which he swayed with but too feeble a hand. The larger portion of the nobility were faithful to him, and, as Mr. Hallam observes, the rose of Lancaster blushed upon the banners of the Staffords, the Percies, the Veres, the Hollands, the Courtneys, the Cliffords, the Talbots, and other illustrious names. *(Keightley's Hist. of England*, 286, 287.) There were more chroniclers than poets in that age; but the contemporary poetry was on the side of the reigning Monarch; and one of the poets of Lord Audley's name, and as loyal as himself, records his good wishes for King Henry in some lines which have in them more of prophecy than poetry:—

I pray you, sirs, of your gentry,
Sing this carol reverently,
For it is made of King Henry;
Great need for him have we to pray,
If he fare well, well shall we be,
Or else we may lament full sore;
For him shall weep full many an eye,
Thus prophesies the blind Audley.

(Strickland's Queens, III, 316.)

With these supports of his title, what wonder if the King took up the words of Prince Hal, in his celebrated colloquy with King Henry IV. respecting the Crown, which, in fact, embody the whole doctrine of the

* The change was not always so innocent as that which is so beautifully imagined in the following lines, which were addressed with a present of a white rose to a lady of the Lancastrian faction:—

If this fair flower offend thy sight,
It on thy bosom bear;
'Twill blush to be outmatched in white,
And turn Lancastrian there!

Or of the succeeding couplet *(Notes and Queries, June* 21, 1851, *p.* 505):—

But if thy ruby lip it spy,
As kiss it thou mayst deign;
With envy pale 'twill lose its dye,
And Yorkist turn again.

stages in the title to an English inheritance, (*Blackstone, II.* 195,) and rested in the same conclusion:—

> My gracious liege,
> You won it, wore it, kept it, gave it me;
> Then plain and right must my possession be:
> Which I with more than with a common pain,
> 'Gainst all the world will rightfully maintain.
>
> *2nd Part Henry IV. act 4, sc. 4.*

In this title Lord Audley acquiesced without misgiving or distrust. Such was the commander who had now the charge of the forces assembled at Drayton!

Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, who was now to measure swords with this commander, was descended from one of the most powerful families in England, whether we consider their opulent possessions or the character of the men who composed it. In many respects the two commanders resembled each other: they were both born in the same year, each died a death of violence, and within a short time of each other, and each of them had enjoyed great advantages of military training in the best schools at home and abroad. In the 11th Henry VI. Salisbury, at that time warden of the east and west marches, conducted himself with much energy, and gained great distinction in repressing the incursions of the Scotch. He next served with great gallantry in France, having under his own pennon 7 knights, 49 men at arms, and 1,046 archers. (*Campbell's Chancellors, I.* 353.) Both Lord Audley and himself are frequently mentioned by the chroniclers with honour; but in one respect he stands proudly pre-eminent above his rival. His sire was that Westmoreland to whom that stirring speech before Agincourt was addressed, beginning

> What's he that wishes for more men from England
> My cousin Westmoreland?

while he is introduced himself by the same bard on many memorable occasions; and thus the names of Westmoreland and Salisbury have passed into household words, which will continue whilst the English language is spoken. But Salisbury's education as a soldier hardly fitted him to discharge the duties of another high station, to which, to the great surprise of the kingdom, he was suddenly appointed by the Duke of York, in the King's name. On the 2nd April, 1454, he was made Lord High Chancellor of England, which office he held until the 7th March in the following year. It would appear from *Rymer (Fœdera, II.* 344, as quoted in *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors,*) that he took possession of the seals in an irregular manner; and he appears to have made a party use of them in the pardon which he produced in parliament the next year, for having taken arms and fought at St. Albans. It was no sincere conversion on his part to the maxim *cedant arma togæ* which made him

Chancellor; for no sooner did he quit the woolsack, than he hastened to turn his mace into a warlike weapon destined to advance the interests and promote the success of the Duke of York. Salisbury was not as consistent a man as Lord Audley, for he had once changed his party. We have no reason, however, to think that his conversion was not the result of an honest conviction. According to strict constitutional law, the hereditary right to the Crown was certainly now vested in the Duke of York; and even in those times of trouble the voice of the law was powerful; for we are informed that while the nation was in arms during the latter portion of the reign of Henry VI. the courts of law enjoyed an entire peace, and justice was administered with a precision, learning, and effect, that have not been surpassed in any times before or since. (*Reeves's English Law, IV.* 108, 9.) Salisbury's family had an alliance with the Duke of York by the marriage of the Duke with his sister. If, therefore, he had fallen into conference with any of the great lawyers of that time, and it must be remembered that that age produced a Littleton and a Fortescue, of whom one served Henry VI. and the other was a judge under Edward IV.; and if they had addressed him with arguments in favour of the Duke of York, there is no doubt that their words would fall into willing and attentive ears. But whatever might be Lord Salisbury's talents or acquirements as a lawyer, there can be no doubt that he was Lord Audley's superior in the "sleights of warlike policy." This was partly to be ascribed to superior natural talent, but more to his experience in the French wars, where he had been engaged down to a very recent period, and where he had seen the art practised with a science and a skill unknown during Lord Audley's campaigns.

Sir Thomas Harrington, as we have seen before, repairing to the muster at Middleham, took the precaution to settle his worldly estate so as to protect it from forfeiture in the event of any reverse. The Earl of Salisbury's prudence took a more religious aspect; for before setting out on this adventure, he established in the Church at Middleham a chantry, where mass was to be said for the repose of his soul for ever. (*Richmondshire, I.* 44.)

In Speed's map of Staffordshire there is an engraving of the Battle of Blore, in which the men at arms are represented as engaged in one body, and the infantry in another; the latter being armed with pikes and harquebuses. This representation, which does not profess to give a ground plan of the battle, must be taken to be conjectural; but this plan, so far as I know, is the only one which has reached our times; and if we would ascertain the general features of the battle, we must examine the site, and the traditions of the neighbourhood, and compare both with the accounts of contemporary chroniclers.

About two miles to the east of Drayton, in the middle of a field which

once formed part of an extensive heath, called Blore, stands a low stone cross of rude workmanship, on which the following memorial is inscribed:—"On this spot was fought the battle upon Blore Heath, in 1459. Lord Audley, who commanded on the side of Lancaster, was defeated and slain. To perpetuate the memory of the action and place, this monument was repaired in 1765, at the charge of the Lord of the Manor, Charles Boothby." On this spot the popular voice asserts that Lord Audley met his death.

In the garden of a neighbouring farm house, about 200 yards north of the cross, there is a raised mound of ashlar stones, on which is now standing a fine hawthorn, so large in its girth that a well-proportioned man can scarcely grasp it with both his arms. Under this mound, probably the burial place of a large number of the slain, tradition, imitating the punning tendency of the ancient heralds, yet with an anachronism they would disown, will have it that a *Colonel Thorn-ton** sleeps his last sleep.

Between these two memorials—the cross, which here as elsewhere marks the scene of conflict—and the mound—it may be thought that the fight was thickest; but as the pursuit and the fight could hardly have been at the same place, I propose in the first place to give very briefly the accounts of the chroniclers, and afterwards to endeavour to reconcile them. Stow's account of the matter is very brief; he merely tells us that Lord Audley had the leading of the King's host into the field called Blore Heath, near unto Mucklestone, by which the Earl of Salisbury needs must pass, where both hosts met and fought a mortal battle. Speed (858) informs us that Salisbury set forward from his Castle of Middleham with four or five thousand men. James Touchet, Lord Audley, encounters him inadvertently upon Blore Heath, near Mucklestone. The fight was long and bloody, but in the end King Henry's fortune gave the better of the day to the Earl of Salisbury. Baker (195) is rather more full as to the circumstances. The Queen, he says, gave order to the Lord Audley to use means to apprehend the Earl of Salisbury, who thereupon levieth 10,000 men in Cheshire and Shropshire, and with them about a mile from Drayton, in a plain called Blore Heath, he attended the Earl, there being but a small brook, of no great depth, between them. Early in the morning, the Earl made a seeming retreat, which the Lord Audley observing, presently causeth his troops to pass the river; but before they could be reduced again into order, the Earl, with his whole strength, falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord Audley, and most of them that had passed the river, he discomfited the rest and slew about 2,400 of

* It is a singular coincidence, however, that Sir Rob. del Booth, one of the victims represented the family of Thornton.—*Orm. III.*

them. Holinshead (649) gives us a few further particulars. According to him, the Lord Audley being requested by the Queen to apprehend the Earl of Salisbury if by any means he might, assembled above 10,000 men of Cheshire and Shropshire, and knowing by his espials which way the Earl kept, approached near him on a fair plain called Blore Heath, within a mile of a town called Drayton, in Shropshire. The Earl perceiving in what jeopardy he stood, determined to abide the adventure with fame and honour, rather than to fly with shame and reproach, and so encamped himself all the night on the side of a little brook, not very broad but somewhat deep. In the morning early, being the day of St. Tecla, he caused his soldiers to shoot their flights towards the Lord Audley's company, which lay on the other side of the said water, and then he and all his people made a sign of retreat. The Lord Audley supposing his adversaries had fled indeed, caused his trumpets quickly to blow up, and setting forth his vaward speedily passed the water. The Earl of Salisbury suddenly returned and set upon the Lord Audley and his chief captains ere the residue of his army could pass the water. Rapin (I. 582) tells us that Lord Audley, being commissioned to raise troops and oppose the Earl of Salisbury, made such despatch that in a very short time he was at the head of 10,000 men, and in a condition to march towards Lancashire, through which the Earl was to pass. But he found the Earl was already advanced as far as Shropshire, where the two armies met The Earl of Salisbury, though but half as strong as the enemy, did not think proper to retreat, but resolved to make use of stratagem to obtain a victory which otherwise he could not expect. Audley being encamped on Blore Heath near a little river, Salisbury posted himself on the other side, as if he meant to guard the pass, and hinder his being attacked. Then suddenly feigning a fear he retired in the night, marching so as at break of day his enemies could still see the rear of his army. This retreat, which seemed to be with precipitation, inspiring the Royalists with ardour, they began to pass the river in disorder, imagining they had nothing to do but to pursue the flying enemy. But whilst they were in this confusion, some being over the river, others in the water, and others ready to pass, the Earl of Salisbury returned and fell upon the troops already over the water, who had scarce time to draw up. The fight lasted four or five hours, because the King's troops were supported by those that were continually passing; but as this could not be done without confusion, the Royal army was at length put to rout. Dr. Lingard, (vol. 5, 207,) whose authorities are, I suppose, Hall and Whethamstede, gives the account as follows:— The Earl of Salisbury moved from his Castle of Middleham to join the Duke of York on the borders of Wales. The Lord Audley, with 10,000 men, interposed himself between them at Blore Heath, near Drayton, in Staffordshire. Salisbury, whose force was small, pretended to fly; the

Royalists pursued in confusion: and as soon as one half of them had crossed a rapid torrent, the fugitives turned, fell on the pursuers in the glen, and obtained with ease a complete victory.

There is a pretty general agreement in the foregoing accounts that the evening preceding the battle saw the hostile armies parted only by a stream, and that the subsequent victory was achieved by a stratagem. There are only two streams to which the accounts can refer,—the Hemp Mill Brook, an insignificant rivulet flowing at the bottom of the ravine or glen, on the edge of which the cross stands; and the River Tern, or, as some will have it, the Sow, a moderate-sized brook, neither very wide nor very deep, which winds round Drayton, and is distant about a mile and a half from the cross. As compared with the former, the latter is a very respectable stream. Holinshead's account of the discharge of the arrows and of Salisbury's pretended flight, and Rapin's relation of the rear of the flying army being still in view of the enemy at daybreak, agree so well with an encampment on opposite sides of the Tern, and are at the same time so reconcileable with tradition; while the supposition of an encampment on the two sides of the Hemp Mill Brook, besides leaving the Tern exposed and the way to Ludlow open, is so improbable in itself, that I have not hesitated to adopt the conclusion that the stream which separated the rival hosts before the fatal day of St. Tecla, was no other than the Tern.

To make my view of Salisbury's position and movements more intelligible, I have prepared a tracing of the neighbourhood enlarged from the ordnance map of Staffordshire.

On the evening of the 22nd Sept. 1459, Salisbury arrived near to the town of Drayton, and having, as we must suppose, secured possession of Tirley Castle, which was essential to his safety, he took up his head quarters on a commanding hill which overlooks the Tern. This hill, to which from this circumstance tradition has assigned his name, enabled him to survey his enemies' camp, and the head quarters of his rival at Audley Brow beyond it. The Tern, which here forms the boundary between the counties of Stafford and Salop, would have hardly formed a barrier to the Earl's advance; but on the other side lay 10,000 men, prepared to dispute the passage. Lord Audley, it is very likely, had intended to intercept his rival at an earlier period, but Salisbury's advance had been so rapid that he was obliged to forego his original intention, and to await his adversary on the spot where we now find him. In the march over Blore Heath the same evening, Salisbury had noted with a soldier's eye the broken nature of the ground, the underwood which covered a good portion of its surface, the facilities it offered for an ambuscade, and the great advantage to himself if he could draw his antagonist into an engagement upon this spot. Accordingly tradition asserts that he placed part of his troops in ambush upon this heath, while the remainder pushed on to

the neighbourhood of Drayton, and established its head quarters on Salisbury Hill. The place where the cross stands is on the edge of a long ravine or glen, from which the ground falls away by a rapid descent to the level of the little brook before mentioned, called the Hemp Mill Brook. The ground on the opposite side of the brook is on a lower level, and forces approaching from that side could not see how the ground behind the cross was occupied. His limbs enveloped in steel, the soldier, as he toiled up the steep side of the ravine, would feel his harness to be

> Like a rich armour worn in heat of day,
> That scalds with safety.

And when the top was gained he would be no match for an assailant, who was already there, unbreathed and fresh for the combat. Salisbury, who was actually opposed by double his own numbers, and who knew that in addition to these the least reverse would have brought into the field another 2,000 men, raised in the King's name, and now hovering in the neighbourhood under the command of Lord Stanley, felt that Lord Audley's tried bravery, supported as it was by the loyalty and gallantry of his cause, left him little hope of safety but in stratagem, and in that resolution which a brave man gathers from despair. The sacredness of the following day, therefore, which was Sunday, and the feast of St. Tecla,* did not allow him to remain idle in his position. At early dawn, therefore, on the 23rd September, his archers, by his direction, discharged a flight of arrows into the enemy's camp, and then suddenly retreated in the direction by which they had advanced the preceding evening. Deceived by this movement, and perhaps over anxious in his zeal, if not too confident in his superior numbers—always dangerous in a commander—Audley bade his clarions sound, and put the troops upon pursuit. At the very place where Salisbury had intended it, his army was overtaken by their pursuers, who thus fell into the ambush he had laid for them. This was the crisis of the day. The Lancastrians, heated with the pursuit, crossed the Hemp Mill Brook, and were ascending the steep side of the ravine when their opponents, reinforced by the troops placed in ambush, having them at a vantage turned upon them with deadly fierceness. The battle raged for nearly five hours, and was stoutly and desperately contested on both sides; but in the end victory declared for Salisbury, and 2,400 of the enemy were left dead upon the field. Lord Audley, the leader of the host, gallantly fighting in the foremost rank, met his death by the hand of Sir Roger Kynaston, a Shropshire knight, and probably one of his neighbours, who, in memory of his achievement, added the family arms of Lord Audley to his own. Lord Dudley, the second in command, with several other

* By some oversight, *Nicolas' Notitia Historica* 1824, 73, makes this festival happen on the 15th October, which is a manifest error.

knights and gentlemen were made prisoners. The Cheshire men, to whom, at their own solicitation, had been assigned the vaward, proved themselves worthy of the distinction, and if their silver swans were stained with gore, their honour remained unspotted as the plumage of the bird whence their emblem was borrowed. It is recorded that they fought bravely and well, and that so many of the noblest were left upon the field was, perhaps, owing to the place they had sought in the army. In those times history was afraid to record on which side men were arrayed in civil strife, and out of the numbers of Cheshire men who fought at Blore, we know only the names of those who fell in the battle, and whom we have enumerated in the following list :—

Sir Robert del Booth, of Dunham, who is commemorated by a brass in Wilmslow Church,* of which I exhibit a rubbing, was made Sheriff of Cheshire for life in the 21st Henry VI. Gratitude as well as loyalty drew his sword at Blore.—*Ormerod, III.* 311.

Adam Bostock, of Bostock, Esq.....According to the *Vale Royal*, p. 99.

Sir Hugh Calveley } According to a M.S. pedigree in the possession of Thos. Legh, Esq. of Lyme.

Sir John Done, of Utkinton..... } *Ormerod II.* 136.
Richard Done, of Crowton, Esq..... }

Sir Robert Downes, of Shrigley } Probably fell in the battle, as is to be inferred from records in the possession of Thos. Legh, Esq. Lyme.

Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton } Was at Blore by a double claim, loyalty and affection, for he was son-in-law to Lord Audley.—*(Ormerod I.* 480.)
Peter, his eldest son, died fighting at his side. }

John Dutton, of Hatton, Esq.....*(Ormerod II.* 433.)

Sir John Egerton, of Egerton*(Ormerod II.* 349.)

Sir John Legh, of Booths*(Ormerod I.* 382.)

Sir Richard Molineux, of Sefton..... } *(Baines IV.* 204. He was excepted from the Act of Resumption, 28 H. VI. and 34 H. VI.)

* The inscription, according to Mr. Ormerod, is as follows :—*Hic jacent corpus Roberti del Bothe militis quond* [am] *dni de Bolyn, Thorneton, et Dunh'm, qui obiit in festo sce Tecle virginis anno domini mill'mo* c [cccc°] lx° *et corpus Dulcie uxis dci Robti del Bothe que obiit in crastino sce be'e virginis anno domini mill'mo* cccc° *quinquagesimo tercio, quorum animabus p'p'tetur Deus. Amen.*

Mr. Ormerod says that the letters in italics are on loose pieces of brass, which have been broken from the slab, and those in the hooks are restored from the Somerford MSS.—*Hist. Cheshire, Vol. III.* 311.

The year of Sir Robert's death cannot be stated correctly, or he did not die at Blore.

At the corners of the tomb are the arms of Massey, Thornton, Fitton, and a fourth coat now defaced.

The Oxford manual of brasses, pp. lxxxviii. and 65, refers to this brass, which bears a near resemblance to Sir John Dengayn's, at Quy in Cambridgeshire, erected about the same time. The figure of Sir Robert has a *mentoniere*, instead of a collar of mail; his elbow-pieces and pauldrons are of equal size, the latter have each a large ridge, and under that on the right shoulder is a gusset of mail; his hands are bare, one of them grasps the hand of his lady, and the other is placed on his breast; his feet have rowel spurs, and rest upon a greyhound.

Whoever compares Sir Robert Booth's brass, with the brass of Sir John Dengayn, will not fail to be struck with the minute resemblance between the two. The hair is cut to the same pattern, the mail gusset under the right arm occurs in each, and the very same ornaments of the sword, belt, and tasses are found in both; one brass is, as it were, a stereotyped copy of the other.

Sir William Troutbeck, of Dunham, who had formerly a monument in St. Mary's, Chester *(Ormerod II. 26.)*

Sir Hugh Venables, of Kinderton *(Ormerod III. 107.)*

All these fell in the livery of the silver swan; and Drayton's story of men of the same name and lineage, fighting on opposite sides, which adds so strikingly to the savageness of the battle, seems to be only a poetic fable. I have omitted from the above list the name of Sir John Troutbeck, (supposed by some to have been one of the victims,) since he seems by his inquisition *post mortem* in the Tower to have died more than a year before the encounter at Blore. According to the inquest he died on Sunday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew, 36 Henry VI.; *i.e.* on 27th August, 1458.

Queen Margaret, whose head quarters had been for some days at Eccleshall, is said to have ascended the tower of Mucclestone Church in her impatience to see the result of the battle, and to have made a hasty retreat to her former quarters after witnessing with dismay the discomfiture of her partisans; whilst Lord Stanley, divided between his allegiance to his Sovereign and his affection for his father-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, hastened to write the latter a congratulatory letter on his success, for which, and other manifest proofs of his temporising conduct, the Commons prayed that he might be impeached; but the King, who had most reason to complain, forbade it, and pardoned the offender. Lord Stanley's conduct in this affair, after his previous solicitation to have the leading of the vaward, forbids us to consider his behaviour as either loyal or honest, and his forgiveness only magnifies the more the Monarch's clemency. Pope Julius II. who, at a later period, refused to Henry a place in the calendar, observing that he knew the difference between a saint and an inno*cent*, could hardly have known the Monarch's character, his early love and patronage of learning, his munificent endowments to promote it, his meekness in his high office, and, above all, his godlike forgiveness of injuries, or he would surely have thought these a better title to canonization, after the fashion of that age, than many a saint possessed.

Sir John and Sir Thomas Neville, two of the sons of Salisbury, and Sir Thomas Harrington, whose name we early introduced into this paper, were taken prisoners by the Queen's troops in the battle of Blore. Salisbury's two sons being severely wounded were conducted with Sir Thomas Harrington to Chester, where they were speedily released by a rising of the Welshmen in their favour.

> Still war, untired, his crimson pinions spread,
> And foul revenge, that trampled on the dead.

Within a few months from the victory at Blore, Salisbury was taken

prisoner at the battle of Wakefield, and was beheaded the next day, and his head placed over the gates of York.* A like indignity was also offered to the remains of his master, the Duke of York, who had fallen in the same battle. Sir Thomas Harrington, with whose name we are already familiar, was slain in the same fatal field; where also his son, Sir John Harrington, was so severely wounded that he died the next day. Sir John Neville, who had so narrow an escape at Blore, fell a few years later in the battle of Barnet. Of all the commanders at Blore, whom we have had occasion to mention in this paper, Sir Thomas Neville, who was taken prisoner with his brother, and released in the manner before related, and Lord Dudley, second in command to Lord Audley, alone escaped a death of violence.†

Cultivation and the ploughshare have been busy for ages on the field of Blore, and of late years few relics have been found beneath its surface either to exercise the ingenuity or to gladden the eyes of an antiquary.

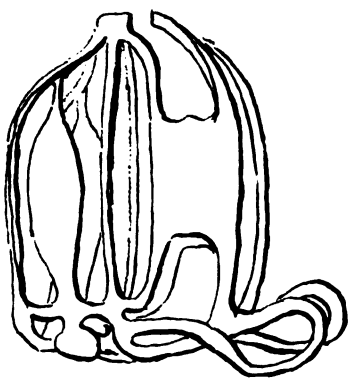
The knights are dust,
Their good swords rust,
Their souls are with the saints we trust.

Three relics, however, found only a few years ago near the site of the cross, and now the property of Mr. Middleton, of Drayton, are by his kind permission submitted for your inspection this evening. The first of these articles, the iron hilt of a sword, doubtless did good service in some stalwart hand on that fatal day; and the second, a well wrought and ingeniously contrived stirrup of bronze, no doubt did equal service as a support to some warrior's feet. The contrivance by which it is made to turn at the horseman's pleasure is simple and efficacious. The remaining relic, apparently the head of a standard, or a banner, is of beaten iron, the two sides being stamped separately into form and then joined in the middle. The device, out of a ducal coronet, or a demi-lion rampant, issuant gules, is, I believe, the same that is worn by the Chetwodes as a crest, and as they have a seat in the immediate neighbourhood, it is possible that this ensign, although found at Blore, may have been made

* His castle at Middleham seems to have been seized into the King's hands; for in the 38th Henry VI. Sir John Neville, the Earl's uncle, had a grant of it for life from the King. *(Richmondshire I. 345.)*

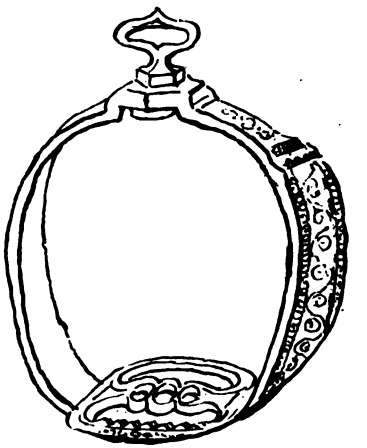
† And yet Southey, in his Common-place Book, 3rd series, p. 4, says—Our civil wars in the York and Lancaster age were carried on with more courage and less cruelty than those of our neighbours. "Or selon mon advis," says Comines, "entre toutes les seigneuries du monde dont j'ay connoissance, ou la chose publique est mieux traitée, et ou regne moins de violence sur le peuple, et ou il n'y a nuls edifices abattus, n'y demolis pour guerre, c'est angleterre, et tombe le sort le malheur sur ceux qui font la guerre."

And again, "Cette grace a ce royaume d'angleterre, par dessus les autres royaumes, que le pays, ne le peuple, ne s'en destruict point, ny, ne bruslent, ny ne demollissent les edifices, et tombe la fortune sur les gens de guerre, et par especial sur les nobles, contre les quels ils sont trop envieux: ainsi rien n'est parfait en ce monde."



Sword Hilt





Bronze Stirrup.

Found on the Site of the Battle of Blore Heath.

for some peaceful occasion, and may have had no connexion with the battle. The paint which now covers this relic was added by the finder.

Fable and tradition, ever busy where history has left its traces, have furnished some stories respecting Blore. One of these relates how, before the battle, Gondermagog, a great giant-killer, had a castle on the heath, in which the mistress of Lord Audley, the finest lady in England, was confined under the spell of Incante, a great enchanter; and how Lord Audley stormed the castle, broke the spell of the enchanter, and carried off the lady in triumph to his castle of Heleigh, where his achievement was celebrated at a great banquet, which was attended by many noble knights and gentles.

Another story relates that for several days before the battle of Blore Heath, there arose each morning out of the foss three mermaids, who announced the coming event by singing these lines, as they combed their long tresses :—

> Ere yet the haw-berry assumes its deep red,
> Embrued shall this heath be with blood nobly shed.

One living witness of the strife at Blore remained to our own times. A gigantic chestnut tree, which grew near Tirley Castle, and not far from Salisbury Hill, was standing until about eighteen months ago, when it was overthrown by a high wind. This monarch tree, whose birth must have antedated the battle of Blore, beheld the hosts which encountered on that day sweep past it in their fury. It must have been a silent witness of the alternate shouts and wails of triumph or defeat which escaped from the rival armies during the conflict. When I beheld it after its fall, it was a picturesque and magnificent ruin.

Having now taken our hasty survey of the events which occurred at Blore, it only remains to make a few brief remarks in conclusion.

The sands of four centuries have not yet run out since the great event we have been considering; an event which, by the slaughter of so many of its leading gentry, for a time filled this great county with mourning. From the vantage ground which we have now obtained, if we cast our eyes back for a few moments, how many striking events may we note as having occurred in the interim, which give occasion for thankfulness by marking the world's advance, and its career in the bloodless victories of progress. Since the feast of St. Tecla, in 1459, the art of printing, then in its birth throes, has sprung forth into the world like a strong man armed! Since the same era, the discovery of a new continent by Columbus, and of a new route to an old one, by Vasco da Gama, have made our English, then confined to this island, the language of supremacy in the East, and the vernacular tongue of the vast and then undiscovered regions of the West! Since the same period also, the followers of Mahomet, who had just then

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burst into Europe from the East, have driven back learning and the arts from Constantinople, to relume their chastening fires in the seats of their birth, and to diffuse once more their civilizing influence over our western world!

Since that time that mighty agent steam has been applied to the arts in ten thousand ways, and, by increasing in so wonderful a manner the facilities of locomotion, has given to life double its opportunities.

If we have only a soldier's courage, we shall attain more than a soldier's reward, whilst we use these opportunities to make the world better, and to hasten the time when it shall be said—

> To ploughshares have they beat their swords,
> To pruning hooks their spears!

PAPERS

Referring to Elections of Knights of the Shire for the County Palatine of Chester,

FROM THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE.

BY SIR PHILIP GREY EGERTON.

IN communicating to the Society the following papers and letters having reference to some of the County Elections during the latter half of the seventeenth, and the commencement of the eighteenth century, I would premise that some of them may be already known, some may be copies of documents existing elsewhere, some may have been heretofore printed, few may be of general interest. Little or no connexion exists between them, and I do not propose to give more than the briefest epitome of the history of the times to which they refer, in order to furnish that connexion in which they are deficient. My chief object is to induce others not to be too scrupulous in estimating the value of information or evidence they may happen to possess, but to communicate more freely to the general stock of that knowledge, which it is the object of the Society to amass, and which may hereafter be available to the literary *Soyers*, who, like Mr. Macaulay, are capable of educing from a mass of heterogeneous materials, a salutary stream of historical knowledge for the amusement and enlightenment of the mental appetites of the present and future generations.

The earliest document I possess, connected with the County Elections, has reference to the short Parliament summoned by Richard Cromwell, in January, 1658—9. It appears to be a manuscript copy of a petition

against the return of the celebrated John Bradshawe, as Knight of the Shire. It is as follows :—

"The humble Petition of divers of the Justices of Peace, Gentlemen, and other the Inhabitants of the Countie Pallatine of Chester,

"Humblie sheweth, that John Bradshawe, Esq. Serjeant-att-Lawe, and Cheife Justice of Chester, was unduely (as your Petitioners conceive) elected and returned Knight of the Shire aforesaid, by the Sheriffe* of the said Countie, for theise reasons followeing :—

1. It is against the statutes of 1 : H. 5th : 1 : 8th : H. 6th : 7 : & 23 : H. 6th : 15 : which statutes doe lymitt that noe person shalbe elected to sitt in parliament as Knight of the Shire, that is not resiant in y^e^ said Countie att the date of y^e^ Writt, at which tyme y^e^ Lord B. was nott resient in y^e^ said Countie.

2. That it is against the statute of 33rd of H. 8th : 13 : which enacts that the Countie Court shall not be kept in anie ther place then the Castle of Chester ; but the Sherife adjourned the Court to Congleton, which is a Corporation, where y^e^ said John Brad : had lived and had beene Mayer, being on y^e^ outside y^e^ Countie, where the Hall is not of y^e^ fourth part of the capacitie of the greate Hall att Chester for the haveing of the Pole, there being a narrow passage up stares to y^e^ Towne Hall att Congleton, where Collonel Croxen's souldiers, Horse and ffoote, and other Halbiteores, to the terrour of the People, obstructed the passage of manie of those that would have voted for Peter Brookes, Esq. ; and forced manie that did passe, upon inquirie who they were, for to pay monie.

3. The Sheriefe took manie votes of those that were not resients of the said Countie, contrary to a statute in that case provided.

4. That when there was not anie ffreehoulders that would appeare for the said John Brad : att Chester, judgement was demanded of and denied by the Sherife, and the Court was adjourned to Congleton, twentie miles and upwards distant from Chester, when they sawe the Countrey comeing in for Mr. Brooke.

5. That verie few, if anie, of those that voted att Congleton were att the readeing of the Writt att Chester, contrarie to the statute of the 7th of H. 4th : 15 : which enacts that none shall vote that were not present att the readeing of the writt, or betweene 8 : 11 of y^e^ clock of y^e^ same day ; and exception being taken, the Sherrife refused to ask the question, whether they were so present att the readeing of the said Writt, which proceedings wee humblie conceived were contrarie to y^e^ Statutes in that case provided.

6. That Quakers were admitted to vote for y^e^ said John Bradshawe without oath made, as wee conceived, of their suffitiencies to vote. All which being contrarie to Lawe, as wee humblie conceive, wee humblie pray that proofe being made of what wee have presented, the said John Brad : may not be admitted to sitt in Parliament ; but that Peter Brooke, Esq. may be returned as a member of Parliament for the said Countie. And wee shall ever pray."

I have one other paper connected with this period, which, although not strictly germane to the subject of this communication, is, nevertheless, worth

* John Legh, Esq. of Booths, was High Sheriff for 1658 and 1659.

transcribing, as being in itself curious, and as containing an allusion to the election at which the Attorney-General of the County Palatine was returned Knight of the Shire. It is a letter from Sir Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, to Mr. Croxton, of Ravenscroft, dated Alderley, March 4, 1658—9:—

"Good Sir,—Att our last Month's meeteinge att Prestbury, there was two Informacions given in and taken uppon oathe before Coll. Bradshawe and myselfe, againt Mr. Peter Legh, of Winckle Grange, for words by him not longe agoe spoken, which are to this effect: that the late Lord Protector was dead and gone to the Devill; and that this Protector would not bee longe before hee dyed, and went to the Devill after him; and that it was better for a man to bee buried underground alive than to live under this present Government. And then, discourseinge of the late Election, declared that Bradshawe was more fitt to stande betwixt a paire of Plowe stilts, than to sitt in the Parliament house; or wordes very neare to this effect. Besides, hee uttered some false and unbecomeinge expressions against my sonne Stanley in order to the Election. Coll. Bradshawe and I hereupon graunted forth our warrant to apprehend and bringe him before us, or one of us, to answer such matters as were proved and objected against him, and did thereuppon conceive hee was not Bayleable; and soe resolved that before whether of us two he appeared to send him unto you, to bee further dealt with, as you should see cause, or think good. This morneinge the said Mr. Legh appeared before mee of his owne accorde, and haveinge neather Constables nor other trustie Persons readie by whom safely to convaye him to you, have adventured to send for the Bearers your souldiers, and given them strickt Charge safely to bringe him before you. Coll. Bradshawe hath the Informacions, (which are as above I have related,) to whom I will write, and desire they may bee speeded to you. The rest is to present you with my kindest love and service, and ever to remaine your very assured ffriend to love and serve you.

"THOMAS STANLEY."

"*Alderley*, 4° *March*, 1658."

"I have not taken in writeinge what Mr. Legh can say for himselfe, because some things that hee hath said relate to my Sonne's reputacion, but leave it unto your consideracion.

"Theise, Ffor his worthie and much esteemed ffriend,
Thomas Croxton, Esq. att his House, Ravenscroft, present."

The dissolution of this Parliament, the fall of Richard Cromwell, the restoration of the long Parliament, its expulsion by Lambert, its subsequent recal and final dissolution on the 16th March, 1659—60, are stirring events, which succeeded one another with extraordinary rapidity, and are only surpassed in importance by the restoration of the lawful Sovereign in the following May. Of the short Parliament immediately preceding the Restoration, and the three following Elections, I have no original

papers. The representatives of the County during this period are given by Ormerod as follows :—

FOR THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT.

12th C. 2, April 25, 1660.	Sir George Booth, of Dunham Massey, Bart. Thomas Mainwaring, of Over Peover, Esq.
12th C. 2, May 8, 1661.	William, Lord Brereton, of Leighlin, Peter Venables, of Kinderton, Esq.
	Sir Foulk Lucy, Bart. on the death of Lord Brereton, 1664.
	Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, on the death of Peter Venables, 1669.
31 C. 2, March 6, 1679.	Henry Booth, of Dunham Massey, Esq. Sir Philip Egerton, of Oulton, Knight.
31 C. 2, October 21, 1680.	Henry Booth, of Dunham Massey, Esq. Sir Robert Cotton, of Combermere, Knight.

The latter Parliament, so celebrated for the adoption of the *Bill of Exclusion* by the House of Commons, and its rejection by the Lords, was of short duration. It was dissolved on the 10th of the following January, 1681, and a new Parliament summoned to meet at Oxford on the 21st of March. The representatives of this County, at that time, adhered to the party designated then, for the first time, Whig. Mr. Booth, second son and heir of Sir George Booth, (so distinguished in the annals, not only of this County, but of England,) subsequently Lord Delamere, of Dunham Massey, was strongly attached to the maintenance of the Protestant religion, and was consequently a staunch and conscientious exclusionist; and (judging from subsequent events) his colleague, Sir Robert Cotton, seems to have entertained similar opinions. Whether the seats were contested or not on this occasion, I have been unable to ascertain; but I find a canvassing letter of this period, on behalf of Sir R. Cotton, addressed by Sir Thomas Mainwaring, of Peover, to my ancestor Sir Philip Egerton, who was a strong supporter of the Stewarts, and subsequently replaced Sir R. Cotton as Member for the County. It is as follows, dated Peover, January 29, 1680—1.

"Sir,—Thursday I received a letter from Sir Robert Cotton, who wished me to present his service to you, and to let you know he is willing to serve his countrey if they make choyce of him; and that he shall take it as a favour from all those who will give him their voyces at the next election, which, with my service to my Lady Egerton and yourselfe, and the rest of the noble company at Tabley, is all now from your most affectionate cozen and servant,

"THOS. MAINWARING."

The result of the Election in this County, as it was generally throughout the country, was the return of the old Members. Shortly, however, before the meeting of the Parliament, the following address was prepared and signed by

an influential body of the Court party in this County, and presented to the Members for the County. When we consider the violence of party strife that prevailed at this particular period of history, this address seems remarkable for its moderation and the constitutional character of its expressions. It recommends loyalty to the Sovereign, and the maintenance of the Protestant religion. It is as follows:—

AN ADDRESSE

To the Hon^rable Henry Booth, Esq. and Sir Robert Cotton, Kn^t and Baron^tt. Kn^ts of the Shire chosen to rep^rsent this County of Chester at the Parliament to bee holden at Oxford the 21st of March instant.

The Loyall Gentry, Authodox Clergie, Ffreeholders, and Inhabitants of this County, whose names are subscribed, think fit at this tyme of such eminent danger, both to King and kingdome, to recomend some things to y^r care, and p^rticularly wee doe desire,

1. That the Popish plott bee duly and dilligently prosecuted, that all accused for the same be brought to speedy justice, and such further Lawes p^rvided as may extirpate Popery and all other heresies and schismie.

2. That you endeavour to p^rserve inviolable the p^rson of the King and the peace of our Church, in doctrine and worshipp, ordering of priests, administration of sacraments, and other rights, as they are at p^rsent by Law established; and that you would invigorate the execucion of those wholesome Laws already made for that end, as a most ne'ssary means to p^rvent an incurable evil, by reduceing and reteyning within their due obedience all dissenters from the same, whether Papists, Atheists, or other Sectaries, Sep'ratists, and Libertines of Conscience, or of what sort soever, with swarmes whereof this kingdome hath been too lately plagued, to the onne utter ruin both of King and State, in the barbarous murder of the best of Kings, of ou^r Religion, Governm^t and the fame of this Nation, carryed on and perpetrated under pretence of a peculiar hollinesse and zeal for liberty of the subject and of conscience.

3. That you imbrace with thankfullnesse his Majestye's most gracious intimacions of his Royall assent to secure us against the danger of a Popish successor, and the influence of Popish counsells.

4. That the expired statutes for better repairing of highwayes be revived.

5. That you consent to give his Ma^tye all chearfull supplys necessary for supporte of the Governm^t, of his allyancies, of his navall power, and for defence of Tangier, and all other places advantageous to the traffick of this Island, wherein both our plenty and safety doe soe mainly consist, and that those places be annexed to the Imperial Crowne of this Realm.

Subscribed at Chester the second day of March,
in the 33rd year of his Ma^tye's reign, ano
dom. 1680.

Geffrey Shakerley; Ran. Dod; Rob. Wever; Tho. Stanley; Robt. Cholmondeley—Wittm. Ffinmow—Ric^d. Stones, *Cler;* Hugh Poole,

Cler; Richard Wright, *Clerk;* Willm. Wilson; Ffrancis Wood, *Clerke;* Willm. Bispham, *Cler*; Willm. Thompson, *Cler;* Tho. Holford; Joseph Bunbury; T. Killmorey; Tho. Nedham; Robt. Leicester; Phill. Egerton; James Arderne, *Cler;* John Massey; Hugh Grosvenor; Tho. Cholmondeley; John Booth; Jeffrey Cartwright; Roger Mostyn; Chas. Byrom, Edw. Spencer; Edward Done; Thos. Dutton; Henry Davis; Jo. Stringer; Hugh Burgess, *Cle;* Wi[m.] Lowndes; Rich. Legh; H. Cholmondeley; Jo. Egerton; Pet. Shakerley; Leftw[ch] Oldfield.

The sudden dissolution of this Parliament, and the subsequent triumphs of the Court party against the Whigs, seem to have roused the Tory feelings in this County; for it was probably during the interval between the breaking up of the Oxford Parliament and the death of the King, that the following requisition was signed. The document has no date, but it is an interesting record of the names of those noblemen and gentry of the County who, at this period, advocated Tory opinions:—

Candidates for Kn[ts.] of this Shire when a Parl[t.] shall be called.

THE RIGHT HON. HUGH LORD VISCOUNT CHOLMONDELEY AND SIR PHILLIP EGERTON.

Who resolve to assist each other and stand y[e] charge of a Poll ag[st] all opposers, by approbacion and encouragement of their undernamed friends assisting with their votes and interest—

Earl of Shrewsbury; Earl of Derby; Earl Rivers, for one or both; Earl of Bridgewater's heires; Lord Gerrard, of Dutton; Lord Kilmorey; Lord Cholmley; Lord Bulkly; Lord Brereton; Lord Norris with widow Venables and Mr. Piggot, who marryed y[e] Baron's sister, comprehending y[e] whole interest of Kinderton; Sir Thos. Grosvenor; Sir Thos. Stanley; Sir Peter Warburton; Sir Tho. Wilbraham, *hopefull;* Sir Francis Leicester; Sir Wm. Merideth; Sir Richd. Brook; Sir Peter Pindar; Sir Thos. Powell; Sir Thos. Bunbury; Sir Wm. Whitmore; Sir J. Arderne; Sir Geoffrey Shakerley; Sir Roger Pilson; Sir W. Drake; late Sir Thos. Smith's tenants; Sir Rowland Stanley; Sir James Poole; Sir Orlando Bridgeman; Sir Joshua Allen; Sir Ja. Werden; Sir Phillip Egerton; Lady Calveley.

Wyrrall Hundred.—Capt. Meolls; Capt. Hockenhull; Leech, of Mollington; Gamull, of Crabhall; Massey, of Puddington; Hurleston, of Newton (?) Bennett, of Barnston; Mr. St. John Bennett, in right of his son, to wh[m] Sir Tho. Middleton left some tenants there and elsewhere.

Broxton Hundred.—Mr. Egerton, of Broxton; Dod, of Edg; Dod, of Broxton; Dod, of Hough and Hampton; Massey, of Coddington; Barnston, of Churton; Leech, of Carden; Wright of Stretton; Davies, of Doddleston; Spencer of; *et totum Hundredum.*

Namptwich Hundred.—Massey, of Moss; Walthall, of Wistaston; Weever, of Pool; the Wilbrahams; Clutton Wright, of Namptwich; Brassey, of Brassey Green; Brassey, of Bulkley; Braine, of Aston; Starkey, of Wrenbury; Wetenhall, of Hankelow; Widenbury, of Hankelow; Dod, of Highfield; Sneid, of Keel's tenants.

Edsbury Hundred.—Chomley, of Vale Royall; Bruin, of Stapleford; Davies, of Ashton; Davies, of Manley; Wilbraham, of Wettenhall; Manwaring, of Marton; Moston, of Beeston; Davenport, of Calvely; Warburton, of Wynnington.

Northwich Hundred.—Moreton, of Hulmwarfield; Davies, of Davenport; Booth, of Twamlow; Wild, of Little Hassall; Raven, of Elworth; Lownds, of Hall of Lea; Lownds, of Bostock House; Byron, of Buglawton and Little Rode; Lounds, of Overton: Swettenham, of Swettenham (?) Oldfield, of Somerford; Cotton, of Cotton; Eyre, of Minshull Vernon; Minshull, of Erdswick; Croxton, of Ravenscroft; Walley, of Stanthorn; Bostock, of Moulton; Holford, of Davenham; Oldfield, of Leftwich.

Bucklow Hundred.—Capt. Nedham; Holford, of Newbrook; Daniell, of Daresbury; Dumvill, of Lym; Marbury, of Mere; Cholmley, of Holford; Leicester, of Toft; Tatton, of Withenshaw; Venables, of Agden; Massey, of Sale; Starkey, of Stretton; Brooks, of Mere (?)

Macklesfield Hundred.—Lee, of Lyme; Warren, of Poynton; Davenport, of Sutton; Davenport, of Henbury; Downs, of Shrigley; Baskervile, of Wythington; Davenport, of Bromhall (?) Shalcross, of Stockport; Mr. Turner, of Hale and Rungey; Ward, of Capeston; Stafford, of Bottoms; Hyde, of Hyde and Norbury; Leigh, of Ridg; Mr. Brelland; Henshall, of Henshall; Mallory, of Mobberley.

This document is a copy of the original requisition, and was addressed "For Sir Phillip Egerton, at Oulton," accompanied by the following note from Mr. Leftwich Oldfield, of Leftwich:—

"Sir,—This hopefull list was taken a year agoe; but it is to be suspected many of them will fail. I cannot find the Catalogue of opposites."

Lord Cholmondeley appears to have declined the honour; for, when the Elections took place on the accession of James the Second, in 1685, the candidates on the Tory side were Sir Philip Egerton and Mr. Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal; the latter having represented the County previously, on the death of Peter Venables, of Kinderton, in 1669. The candidates on the Whig side were Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Mainwaring. In this County, as elsewhere, the Tory party carried all before them. The contest lasted six days, and resulted in the return of Mr. Cholmondeley and Sir Philip Egerton, by the following majorities, taken from a curious original document in my possession.

Att the Election at Chester, March the 22nd, 1684, Pri-Jacobi Secundi

Mr. Cholmondeley polled	2099	men
Sir Philip Egerton polled	1966	men
Mr. Mainwaring polled	1682	men
Sir Robert Cotton polled	1552	men
Sir Philip and Mr. Cholmondeley polled betwixt them	4065	men
Sir Robert and Mr. Mainwaring polled betwixt them	3234	men
Polled on both sides in all	7299	men
Throwe half that was polled	3649½	men
Mr. Cholmondeley outpolled Sir P. E...	133	men
Mr. Cholmondeley outpolled Mr. Man...	417	men
Mr. Cholmondeley outpolled Sir R. C...	547	men
Sir Ph. Egerton outpolled Mr. Man. ...	284	men
Sir Ph. Egerton outpolled Sir R. C.....	414	men
Mr. Mainwaring outpolled Sir R. C. ...	130	men

It was with reference to this Election that Mr. Macaulay quotes the *Observator* of April 4, 1685, describing the scenes which took place at Chester, at the declaration of the poll. On referring to the original in the British Museum, I find the whole letter so interesting and amusing that I must beg permission to insert it entire. It is as follows:—

COPY.

March 30, 1685.

DEAR SIR,—After a stiff poll at Chester of six days (closed on Saturday night at sun-set), the Sheriff declared, after casting up the books at ten a clock the same night, Sir Philip Egerton and Mr. Cholmondeley to be the knights duly elect. The difference of votes was as follows:—Mr. Cholmondeley had 2099 votes. Sir Philip 1966. Mr. Manwaring 1682. Sir Robert Cotton 1552. During this Election several discoverys were made of the good inclinations of the Faction, in their confused shouts and riotous rambles in the night. The windows of some loyal citizens were albl roken: part of their cry was "Down with the Parsons," "Down with the Bishops." Sir G. Shakerley was knocked down in the street; lost his hat and wig; and the persons of some of the Reverend Clergy were likewise affronted. Sir Geoffrey, hereupon, with a matter of a score of loyal gentlemen, went up to the inn, and so into the room where the chief of the other party were; to demand satisfaction for the indignity which had been put upon them; but they very submissively disowned any countenancing of the thing, saying, they could not help the rudeness of the rabble. There were several committed by the Mayor to the Jayl, for their insolence; and in regard that some of the Constables had been abused, the Militia of the City was raised, and kept up two days; but at such a distance, and so far out of sight, as to be only near enough to suppress any tumult, or insurrection, in case of need, without influencing any awe upon the Election. The poll being closed, and the Election declared, five great guns proclaimed it to the country; all the bells



Bridge Street Chester, in the 17th century: from an old Print.

ringing; the City Waits and trumpets sounding up to the Cross; and the gentlemen in a body attending their Knights elect; and accompanying the wind music with their voices, to the tune of "Joy to great Cæsar," Thus they advanced to the High Cross, where there was a Bonfire, and the Militia that kept guard there drawn up beyond it. The Royal healths were there put about, with several hearty shouts; and the Bill of Exclusion burnt, with that seditious address that was read in the Hall the last Election. About eleven at night they repaired to their quarters; and yesterday morning went to the Great Church, with the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the City, in their scarlet gowns; white staves of formalities; the sword and mace carry'd before them; and a lane made by the Militia from the Church door to the Northgate-street. After Prayers, and an excellent Sermon of the Dean's, upon the *Observance of Lent*, they were treated by the Mayor at a dinner, suitable to the occasion. And you have here the *life and death of Whiggism in these parts.*— *The Observator.*

Saturday, April 4, 1685.

From the dissolution of this Parliament, on the abdication of James the Second, to the year 1701, the County representatives, viz. Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Mainwaring, belonged to the Whig party. But on the occasion of the last dissolution in William's reign, the Tory party again revived in the County Palatine, and brought forward Sir Roger Mostyn and Sir George Warburton to contest the seats with the old Members. I have several private letters alluding to this Election, from which I will select a few, to shew that no efforts, *fair* or *unfair*, were spared to promote the cause of the Tory Candidates. Under the latter category may be classed the following letter from my ancestor, Mr. Egerton, of Oulton, to his brother Philip, Rector of Astbury:—

Dear Brother,—Tho' I have not heard from you since I came too this place, I woud bee noe longer silent without giveing you an account that it very nearly concerns every one that wishes well to ether Church or State to use there utmost indeavours too choose such men as are of integrity, and above temptation. One of our old Members, Sir John, is deeply ingaged in bonds for Morgan Whitley, and that account will light as its say'd very heavy upon Sir John Maynwaring; nay, some people report that Sir John has received a good till of money from Morgan, who hee was bound for too the Government when Morgan was made Receivor. This I think might bee a very good objection against their choosing of him; and if the question were ask'd him whether he has discharged the bonds that hee has given to the Government, I believe hee woud be startled; therefore if hee had not had a great dell of favour an extente upon his estate had been moved for before this. And as for Sir Robert Cotton, let but inquiary bee made how hee has voted since Sir Rich. Middleton was turn out of being Custos rotulorum of Denbighshire, and Sir Robt. put in. Now if such men as these are not opposed, what will become of England? I desire you will appear as far as in prudence is proper, if you have done what I am tould you have, which is takin the

oaths, then I desire you will appear at the meeting of the Gentlemen at Northwich, and likewise goe into Broxon Hunder'd and stay amoungest the Gentlemen there, and see what can be done for Sir George and Sir Roger, and that what tenants I have pray take care that they goe for them.

I am,

Your affectionate Brother,

J. EGERTON.

London, Nov. 25th, 1701.

For the Rev. Mr. Phillip Egerton, at Mucklestone,
by Stone Bagg. to be left at Woore. (These.)

The Rector seems to have been slow in answering the above, for it is followed up by a letter from Mr. Faulkner, Mr. Egerton's agent, who, in consequence of his master's illness, is ordered to write as follows :—

Rev. Sir,—My master orders me to acquaint your whorship that he has been out of order for this three or four dayes with the gripes, but now is something better ; and that he writt to your worship about a week since to desire you to go to Broxon to raise those Gentlemen and what interest could be made in that hundred for Sir Roger Mostyn and Sir George Warburton. My master would be glad to hear what progress you have made in that affair, and likewise what hopes of your succeedings. Elections being the subject of all people's discourse here, * * * * *

Rev. Sir,

In hast concludes your ever dutifull Servant
to command,

THO. FAULKNER.

The Rector, however, had not been idle, as the following letter and answer will shew :—

Sir,—I am informed your Bailey Rockwood's son, Richd. Rookwood. I presume you have heard that Sir Geo. Warburton and Sir R. Mostyn stand candidates for Cheshire. On their behalf, therefore, I beg leave to request your favour to your Bailey Rookwood's son for his vote, and what more he can procure, which, I am told, is something considerable, for them ; and by doing which you will much oblige them, and

Your most lovg Servant,

P. E.

Dec. 8th, 1701.

Deare Sir,—My interest in Chesshire is very small; but what it is you shall command for the gentlemen you mention. To-morrow morning will send my servant with a letter to my Baily Rich. Rooker and to his son, which I know will oblige them to doe all they can. Shall order him, and what others he can procure, and to goe to Mr. Clowes, your Baily, which will be a good encouragement to them, as well as a conduct * *

Your obliged humble Servant,

E. MAINWARING.

There appears to have been some doubt whether Sir Roger Mostyn would stand, at least the next letter has reference to some such report; perhaps circulated by the opposite party to prejudice the cause of the new comers. It is from Mr. Vernon to Doctor Egerton, and enclosed two letters (not preserved) from Mr. Egerton, of Oulton:—

Dear Sir,—This letter of y^r^ Bro^th^ came to my hand by Saturdaye's post, & I forthwith sent it to S^r^ Geo. W. & had it againe last night, w^th^ this accou^nt^ und^r^ his owne hand; y^t^ M^r.^ Leigh, of Lyme, y^t^ were then & Sr Roger Mostyn had been w^th^ him, & that he (I mean S^r^ Roger) was resolved to stand. I answ^rd^ y^r^ Bro^t^ Letter yisterday, & therein told him the Report of y^r^ takeing y^e^ oathes is false. Here is another Letter y^t^ I Rec^vd^ from him yister-morneing; and I send the Bear^er^ (since I see noe other corse has been taken) to desire you'l send me y^r^ Letter to my L^d^ Bulkley, thereby expressing his full direc''cons to his Steward to get all y^e^ votes he can for y^e^ 2 new members, and I wish you would write to S^r^ Jo. Egerton, y^t^ he would write to both M^r.^ Walthalls that they would not influence their tenn^ts^ but give them leave to vote at pleasure. Pray returne me *the 2 letters*. I am, in hast, w^th^ humble service to all y^rs^ & all w^th^ you,

D^r^ Sir,

Y^r^ most affectionate, faithfull, humble Serv^t^,

R. V.

25° 9^br^, 1701.

If Sir Jo. Egerton be now at Holliwell, let me have a letter to him, & I w^l^ send it by way of Chester. The Elecc'on for St. Alban's is over, & the Choyce is fall'n on honest gentl^n^. Mr. Harcourt for Abbington is chosen, & these are all y^e^ Elecc'ons y^t^ I yet hear of.

All doubts as to Sir Roger Mostyn's appearance were dispelled by the issue of his canvassing circulars. These are curious, as being dated from Beeston Castle, in order to shew, I presume, that although his residence was not in the County, he was closely connected with its interests by the possession of that fine property, now, I rejoice to say, in the hands of my esteemed colleague. It runs thus:—

Sir,—Upon the request and encouragement of those gentlemen who have invited Sir George Warburton, I am resolved to stand in conjunction with him in the Election for this County; and because the contrary has been reported, I take this opportunity to assure you, that if I shall be elected, I'll verry chearfully embrace the opp'tunity to manifest that I am intirely in the interest of this County, and I hope I shall not want yo^r^ vote and interest, which will be an obligation on

S^r^ Yo^r^ humble S^r^vant,

R. MOSTYN.

Beeston Castle, 2° December, 1701.

The exertions of the Tory party proved unsuccessful. A small fragment of paper records the final state of the poll:—

The Votes are as ffolloweth.

Ffor Sir Roger Mostyne...	1506
Ffor Sir George Warrbutton...	1812
Ffor Sir Robt. Cotton	1898
Ffor Sir Jno Mannaringe	1905

This is the last document connected with the subject of this paper which I possess. I therefore conclude my task with many apologies for the imperfect manner in which I have submitted these scattered materials to the notice of the Society.

Yours,

P. DE M. GREY EGERTON.

Oulton Park, Feb. 10, 1851.



Bruera Chapel, Saighton Grange, Bunbury Church.

BY WILLIAM AYRTON.

THE subjects which I have selected for this evening's consideration, possess little in themselves either for remark or illustration. The remains occupy a very small space, the records concerning them are very scanty; and when we have agreed that the Chapel of Churton Heath belonged of old to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, and exhibits traces of Norman origin, and that Saighton Hall (or Saighton Grange, as it was formerly called) was principally built by an abbot of St. Werburgh, to whom it belonged, and who left his crest among its battlements, we seem to have said all that history has recorded or that inquiry demands.

But there is a sort of borrowed light, from which these at first sight unimportant remains, derive additional interest; and I am in hopes that if, instead of resting satisfied with the bare recital of their former origin and present existence, we pause to consider the ages to which they belong, and the manners they are capable of illustrating, we shall cease to regard them with indifference, and shall feel well satisfied that we did not pass hastily by their thresholds, without lingering for a short half hour to become better acquainted with their moss-grown walls, and with the tale they have to tell.

To begin, however, at the beginning. The dry matter of fact which history gives, tells us that Churton Heath is a corruption of "Church en Heath," (or Church on the heath,) as it is invariably called in the ancient deeds of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, being a literal translation of the name of the Church itself, which was called in Latin "Capella super Bruerâ."

The manor was given by John, son of William del Heath, in the reign of Edward the 1st, to Robert Bulkeley. An estate of about 120 acres was obtained by fine by one Morgan Massie, paid to Hugh Cornedow and George Bostock, in the reign of Henry 7th. This estate continued in the Massie's of Eggerley to the time of Charles 2nd, when it was purchased by Mr. Colley, a Non-conformist minister, in a branch of whose family it

still remains. Ormerod says—"A small tenement in this township adjacent to the Chapel, was given to Chester Abbey by Roger Montalt at the time of his receiving the extorted grant of Lea, the tithe of Hawarden, and other estates. It is probable this is part of the land surrounding the Chapel, which is now reputed part of the township of Saighton."—*Ormerod, on authority of Mr. Colley.*

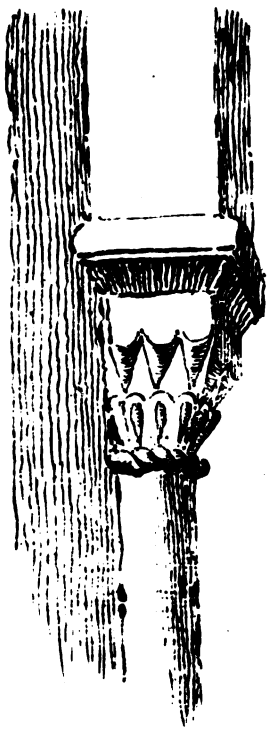
Church en Heath is no longer a distinct manor. In the catalogue of deeds and charters relating to the Abbey of St. Werburgh and its possessions, contained in a vellum MS. in the British Museum, the name of the Cappella, or Ecclesia super Bruerâ, frequently occurs.

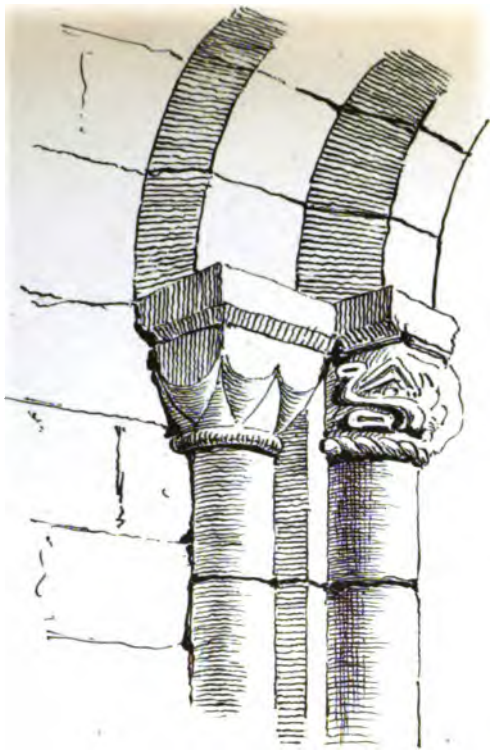
We have yet remaining in this little building abundant indications of its Norman origin. The south entrance, which, as Ormerod tells us, is a pointed arch inserted in a semi-circular one, is indeed the original Norman doorway, very rudely repaired; the ornamented moulding (a chevron pattern) on the face of the arch yet remains, though almost obliterated, and the later arch by which it is supported can scarcely be called either pointed or semi-circular, so rude is its construction. The tower has evidently once been lofty and of importance, from the very massive buttresses which remain, out of all proportion to the size of the tower which they at present support: what remains indeed, appears to be only the foundation of the former structure.

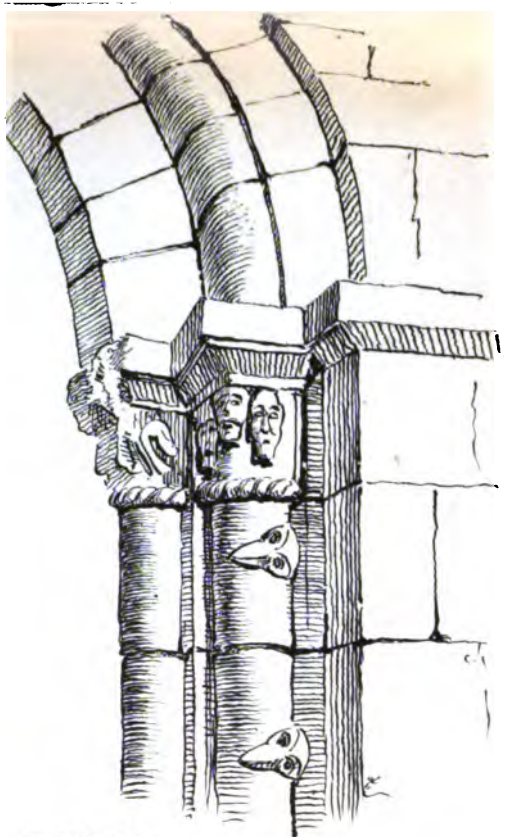
This tower is one of those on which I think we may look with interest, precisely in the borrowed light of which I spoke, as a speaking illustration of the wild and warlike times to which they belong.

Ecclesiastical propriety was evidently then less studied by the architect than fortified strength. The genius which suggested so much architectural beauty in the succeeding centuries—which so carefully studied propriety of form and arrangement—which attempted to symbolize the objects of religious veneration, and to inspire feelings of deep solemnity and awe—which aspired loftily towards Heaven in the light, elevated elegance of the Early English style; or in the rich flowing tracery of the Decorated period, threw such graceful charms around each holy temple, and seemingly strove to enhance the sacredness of each spot on which was lavished so much wealth and so much talent; that genius was yet unborn in the iron age of Saxon struggle and Norman domination, and we find in almost every Church tower or Chapel belfry of the period, more attention paid to the means of defying an armed host, than to those of facilitating the purposes of prayer and of devotion.

The ornamental parts of a Norman building are no less strikingly illustrative of the times than their massive, fort-like strength. A sort of rude severe style of baronial magnificence characterises them: mathematical forms, generally angular, devoid of elegance and unsuggestive of idea, were the only models on which the architects of the era relied, to







Parts of the Chancel Arch. BRVERA CHAPEL.



enrich their massive structures with a kind of barbarous relief. They were blind, or indifferent to Nature's graceful forms of the flower and the leaf, which inspired their successors with designs so happily uniting beauty with strength; and whenever they departed from mathematical precision, they were sure to deviate into coarse and uncultivated conceit. Of this we have an instance in the chancel arch of this building, and the capitals of the pillars which support it.

Barbarous, however, as the Normans may have been, they must yet yield the palm of uncultivated ignorance to the people who, in the nineteenth century, could so mutilate even the Norman work, in their careless indifference to all that age and association of ideas had combined to render sacred. I must say I feel regret that the names of the Churchwardens who so recklessly, nay, almost sacrilegiously, disfigured the Chapel of Bruera with their alterations, are not in our possession, that we might *gibbet* them in the pages of our Journal.

The East window bears mark of a date long subsequent to the Norman style; it is a rude pointed arch of Early English style: the mullions are of later date, and are decorated.

The Norman font, lately used as a pigtrough, now lies in the churchyard, at the foot of the tower: though much defaced, it still possesses sufficient ornament to identify it at once as Norman; the cable pattern running round the outer edge of it.

SAIGHTON Manor House, or Grange, is a very interesting specimen of that style of architecture which, in the fifteenth century, combined fortified strength with more domestic convenience. More commodious than the castles of the Edwards, with their deep dungeons, their dark confined chambers, and total disregard to every requirement save that of impregnable strength, the embattled mansions of the fifteenth century suggest an union of ease and comparative luxury, while they were still sufficiently strong to prove places of defence in the civil strife that often disturbed the land, and formidable strongholds before an invading enemy.

Saighton was a manor before the Conquest, belonging to the secular canons of St. Werburgh, who retained it at the Domesday survey. It was confirmed by Hugh Lupus to the Benedictine Monks of St. Werburgh in 1093. They did not, however, remain in quiet possession, for his successor, Richard, attempted to possess himself of it, and was so exasperated by the refusal of the Abbot, that he threatened the dissolution of the Monastery on his return from Normandy. He, however, perished on his voyage home in that shipwreck which was fatal to the heir apparent to the English throne, William, and to so many of the English nobility. Abbot William* did not hesitate to ascribe this catastrophe to the Earl's impiety

* Died 1140.

and wicked designs. The barons of Malpas afterwards intruded themselves into this manor, and held possession until they extracted from the Abbot an agreement to pay £200 sterling, on consideration of which the then baron, and Isabel his wife, quit-claimed their pretensions to Abbot Simon.* Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Wells, afterwards released the Monks from this impost, which was never paid, on condition of their providing two chaplains to pray for the soul of his nephew, Philip Burnel, in their monasteries for ever.†

From this time, about 1250, the Abbots of St. Werburgh appear to have enjoyed entire possession of Saighton Grange and Manor, and occupied it, as by an early charter of one of the Earls of Chester they were bound to do, in great state. This charter directed them to have three manor houses fitted up in a state to receive the Abbot's retinue, and to be the seats of courts. Oratories were also established there by license from the Bishop of Lichfield; and by a license for fortifying (19 Richard 2nd), it appears that "Sutton, Salghton, and Ince," were then the three principal manorial residences of the Abbots of St. Werburgh.‡ It was about 1489 that the principal part of the building, of whose remains we now treat, was erected by Simon Ripley, 23rd Abbot, to whom is also ascribed the west part of the nave of Chester Cathedral.

At the dissolution, in the reign of Henry VIII. the manor was separated from the manor house with its demesne, and the latter fell into possession of the Calveleys of Lea, who held it for many generations. During the usurpation, the sequestrators sold it to a publican of Chester, named Walley, whose great grandson's widow sold it, in 1775, to Foster Cunliffe, Esq. of Acton, in whose family it still remains. The name of the present tenant is Walley.

We need such assistance as these remains afford, if we would endeavour to look on the land—if we endeavour to look on the *Cheshire* of the 19th century, as it really existed in the 12th and 15th. Mr. Macaulay is only going so far back as the 17th century when he says, that

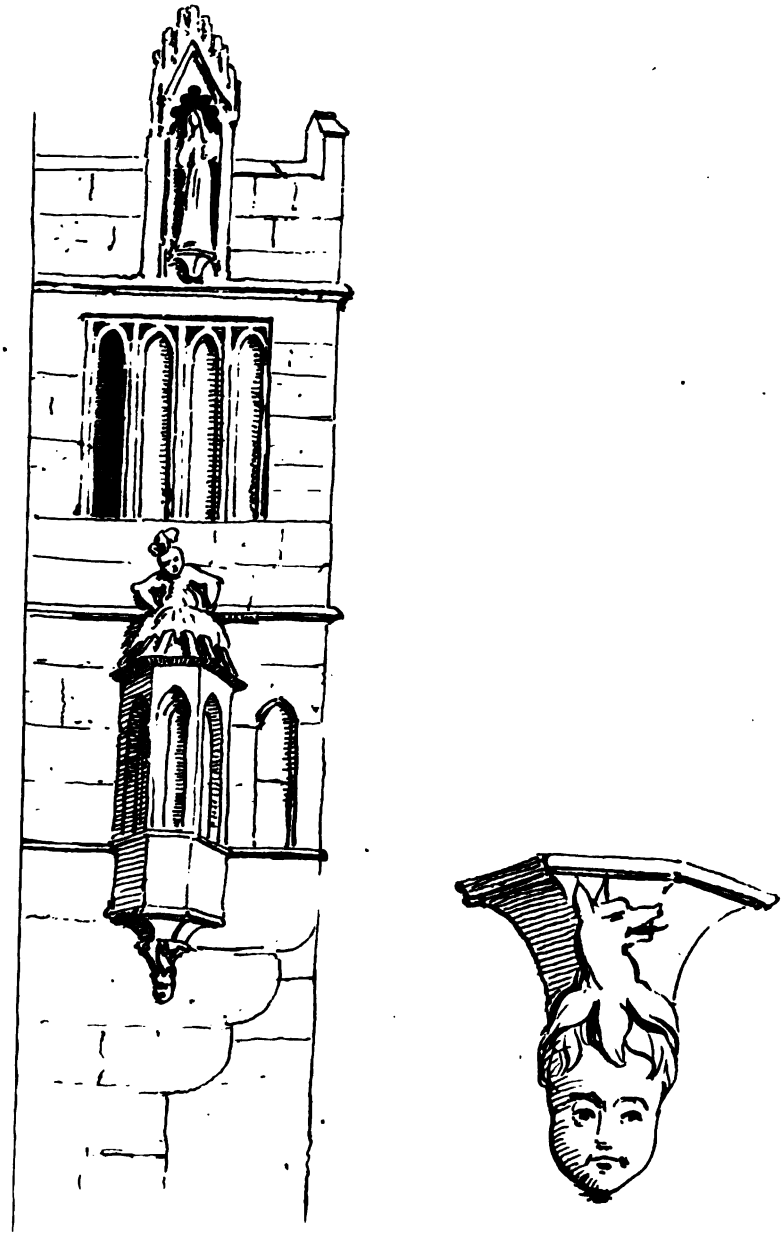
"Could the England of 1685 be, by some magical process, set before our eyes, we should not know one landscape in a hundred, or one building in ten thousand. The country gentleman would not recognise his own fields. The inhabitant of the town would not recognise his own street. Everything has been changed, but the great features of Nature, and a few massive and

* Simon de Albo Monasterio, elected 1265.—"Concordia inter Abb'm Cestr: et Ph'm Burnel s'r man'ilis de Salghton, Cheveley, Huntington et Bochton."—*Harl. MSS.* 1965, *British Museum.*

"Quieta clamac'o Phi. Burnel et Isabella uxoris suce s'r man'ilis de Salghton."—*Ibid.*

† "De 11 Cappellauis in p'p'm celebrantibus pro Phi. Burnel."—*Ibid.*

‡ Henry de Sutton, 19th Abbot (made Abbot in 1376) of Chester, in 1399 had license to fortify his three principal manor houses of Sutton, Saighton, and Ince.



Shrine, and Oriel Window with Abbot Ripley's Crest.

SAIGHTON GRANGE

durable works of human art. We might find out Snowdon, Windermere, the Cheddar Cliffs, and Beachy Head. We might find out, here and there, a Norman minster, or a castle which witnessed the wars of the Roses. But with such rare exceptions, everything would be strange to us. Many thousands of square miles which are now rich corn land and meadow, intersected by green hedgerows, and dotted with villages and pleasant country seats, would appear as moors overgrown with furze, or fens abandoned to wild ducks. We should see straggling huts built of wood and covered with thatch, where we now see manufacturing towns and seaports renowned to the farthest ends of the world. The capital itself would shrink to dimensions not much exceeding those of its present suburb on the south side of the Thames."*

Macaulay's graphic description of the changes a few centuries have wrought, may be applied literally in some respects to the country between Chester and Churton Heath. There is no doubt that in the 15th century the hedgerows and lanes, the gardens and pastures, which are now spread over the broad lands of Saighton, Cheveley and Huntingdon, had then no existence. All was then uninclosed moor or heath; and we have an illustration of this in the title of one of the deeds contained in the catalogue I have already mentioned. It follows immediately after one relating to the " ecclesia de Bruera," and is called " An agreement between S. Abbot of Chester, and H. de Hatton, for a common right of pasture between Hatton and Saighton,"† a distance of one or two miles.

But in some respects the changes which have taken place are in this precise locality exactly inverse. The change is not from desolation to wealth and busy population. The country surrounding Churton Heath is perhaps at present less known to the citizen of Chester generally than the country on any other side of it. No great road traverses it, and the wretched pavement, the deep sandy lanes which conduct to it, lead only to farms of flat pasture country, having little to attract the curious in search of the picturesque, and only inhabited by farmers, by their labourers, and their herds of cattle. It is really surprising how few inhabitants of Chester, if you were to ask them of the Chapel of Bruera, or Saighton Hall, could direct you to the spot, or even tell of their existence. And yet, the great roads to London, Shrewsbury, or North Wales, were *once* scarcely regarded with more interest, or invested with more importance by the Chester citizen, than was the difficult track which led through uninclosed heath and uncultivated land to Saighton Hall and Buerton Chapel. *Now*, it is no longer what it once was; the high road between the metropolitan see and the princely residence of its prelate; a residence in which he was bound to reside in a certain degree of state, and to maintain always a certain

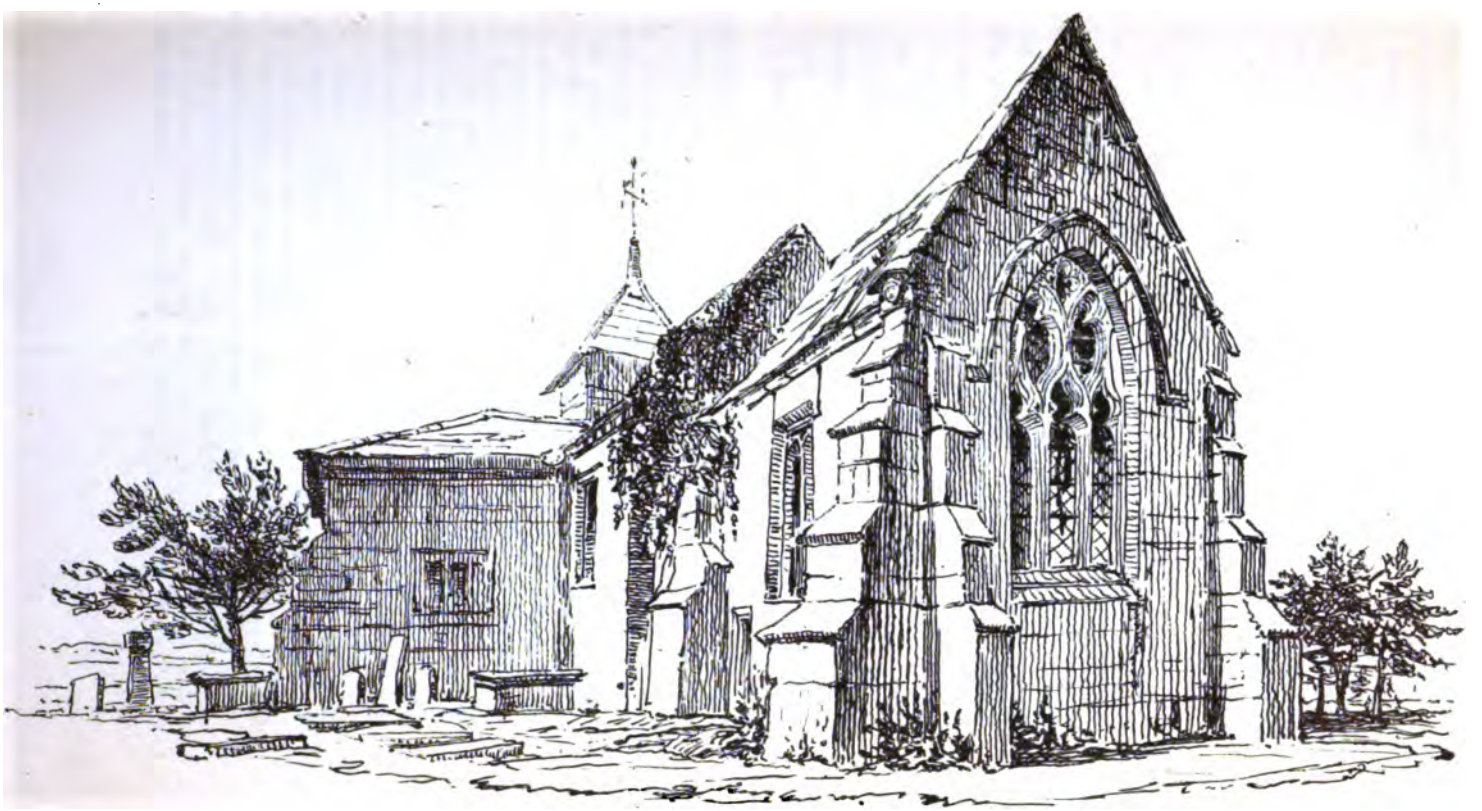
* Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. 281.

† Concordia inter S. Abb'm, et H. de Hatton de communa pasturæ inter Hatton et Salighton."—*Harl. MSS.* 1965, *British Museum.*

retinue. The passing to and fro of the numerous dependants of a princely court—the high church dignitary on his ambling palfrey—the nobly-born dame in her rich litter—the proud charger bearing his lordly master—the gallant plump of spears with their fluttering pennons—the sturdy yeoman—the saucy varlet—and the bare-footed friar—were characters in a pageant which must have been played on this very stage, which must have lent life and busy importance to these very lanes now so still, so little known, and so deserted. If there were any stretch of imagination necessary to conceive that such was indeed once the character of the scene, these remains and their scanty records sufficiently assure us of its truth.

And yet the country is even now not without its charms for the admirer and lover of Nature. The present road to Saighton runs (as I should suppose it did also in the days of Abbot Ripley) high along the elevated bank of the River Dee (what is now called the Butter-bache) from Boughton Heath to Huntingdon. Looking down the lazy waters of the Dee, Chester stretches out as a beautiful panorama, sweeping in a semi-circle towards the West, terminating with the boldly-marked features of St. John's Church, the Castle, and the Bridge. Further distant are the plains of Cheshire and Flintshire, bounded by the Welsh mountains; and looking *up* the river is a long reach of quiet tranquil water, whose bosom reflects the distant building of Heron Bridge, buried as it were in deep masses of surrounding foliage. The road, after running for half a mile through flat pastures, over a narrow rough pavement, turns off to the left into a sandy lane, which, though now assuming some pretensions as a Macadamized road, was in my recollection a soft sandy bottom, with ruts too deep for any thing but carts and waggons to encounter. A couple of miles brings us to Saighton, the road becoming more picturesque, more varied, and more woody as we advance. Buerton Chapel is only a short mile further, giving to a walk not without its attractions additional beauty and interest.

Among names once all powerful in this immediate vicinity, and still familiar to us, was that of the Calveleys of Lea, by Buerton, whose family long before and after the 15th century must have filled a very proud position, and asserted a powerful influence in every event of importance which took place in the county. Already a family of rank and property, their wealth and consequence derived great accession in the reign of Richard the 2nd, from the successful prowess of their most distinguished member, Sir Hugh Calveley. I must confess the name of this illustrious soldier awakens associations and recollections which invest this locality with greater charms to my mind than any other, whether of Lord or Abbot, who figure in the pages of Cheshire history. Should we pass him by with only a careless and indifferent remark, we should fail to enter fully into the history of this immediate neighbourhood, and we should be



Bruera Chapel. East End.

depriving our subject of one of its brightest ornaments, as well as one of its most interesting characters.

But though the name of Sir Hugh Calveley will never cease to be connected in the mind of the Cheshire historian with this county, it was not on Cheshire ground that he acquired his fame, nor is it in the annals of Cheshire that his history is to be read. His early years he probably passed here, hunting on the plains round Saighton, or worshipping at the shrine of Bruera Chapel, as he certainly returned to end his life in the neighbourhood; but it was on the plains of France, amid the mountain passes of Spain, and on the waves round Calais, (of which he was so long governor,) that he acquired the name he has handed down to posterity; and it is in the brilliant pages of Froissart that the records of his life are to be found. The first principal mention of him by Froissart occurs in his account of the celebrated battle of Auray, when Sir Hugh took command of a division of the English army under Sir John Chandos, in 1364, and was of main assistance in achieving the victory which obtained for Lord Montford the Duchy of Brittany. The circumstances immediately preceding the engagement, and the vexation with which Sir Hugh Calveley (or as Froissart always calls him, Sir Hugh Calverley) saw himself appointed to the command of the rear guard on that occasion, are so singularly graphic a description of those chivalrous times, and of our hero's character, that I cannot resist giving you an extract in Froissart's own words:—

"Sir John Chandos formed three battalions and a rear guard. He placed over the first Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Walter Huet, and Sir Richard Burley. The second battalion was under the command of Sir Oliver de Clisson, Sir Eustace d'Ambrecourt, and Sir Matthew Gournay. The Earl of Montford had the third. When he came near the rear guard he called Sir Hugh Calverley to him, and said: 'Sir Hugh, you will take charge of the rear guard of five hundred men, and keep on our wing without moving one step, whatever may happen, unless you shall see an absolute necessity for it; such as our battalions giving way, or being by accident broken: in that case, you will hasten to succour those who are giving way, or who may be in disorder; and assure yourself you cannot this day do more meritorious service.'

"When Sir Hugh heard Sir John Chandos give him these orders he was much hurt and angry with him, and said, 'Sir John, Sir John, give the command of this rear guard to some other; for I do not wish to be troubled with it;' and then added, 'Sir Knight, for what manner of reason have you thus provided for me, and why am not I as fit and proper to take my part in the front rank as others?'

"Sir John discreetly answered, 'Sir Hugh, I did not place you with the rear guard because you were not as good a knight as any of us; for in truth I know you are equally valiant with the best; but I ordered you to that post, because I know you are both bold and prudent, and that it is absolutely necessary for you or me to take that command. I therefore

most earnestly entreat it of you; for if you will do so we shall be all the better for it; and you yourself will acquire great honour: in addition, I promise to comply with the first request you make.'

"Notwithstanding this handsome speech of Sir John Chandos, Sir Hugh refused to comply, considering it as a great affront put upon him, and entreated, through the love of God, with uplifted hands, that he would order some other to that command, for in fact he was anxious to enter the battle with the first.

"This conduct brought tears into the eyes of Sir John. He again addressed him gently, saying, 'Sir Hugh, it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command; now consider which can be most spared.'

"Sir Hugh, having considered this last speech was much confused, and replied: 'Certainly, Sir John, I know full well, that you would ask nothing of me which could turn out to my dishonour, and since it is so, I will very cheerfully undertake it.'"*

The result fully justified the foresight of Sir John Chandos as to the importance of the post he had committed to Sir Hugh Calveley, and his estimation of the officer in whose hands he had placed it. He made such good use of his command in recovering and bringing to their ranks those who were thrown into confusion, that he on one occasion entirely retrieved the day, which was going in favour of the French, and eventually contributed essentially to the victory, which was finally won after a hard contest, by a sudden panic among the enemy, who had no such corps in reserve to fall back upon.

He afterwards accompanied the Prince of Wales on his expedition into Spain, when he assisted in dethroning Henry, King of Castellé, and elevating Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, in his place. Sir Hugh, on this occasion, headed a band of mercenaries, or, as they were called, "Free Lances"—a command not much to his credit.

In 1377 he is mentioned as being Governor of Calais—a high dignity, with which he was long honoured.

In 1380 he suffered shipwreck with Sir John Arundel and his fleet, on an expedition against Brittany, during a storm, in which Sir John Arundel and a thousand men at arms perished. Holinshead imputes very disgraceful conduct to the chiefs of this expedition, in their cruelty and licentious oppression of the people at setting out, and attributes the tempest to the judgment of Heaven. He does not, however, implicate Sir Hugh by name. Froissart, in his account, makes no such charge; but that courtly chronicler was apt to look on all trespass as venial, if the offenders were gallant men at arms, and the sufferers not ennobled! Sir Hugh, with seven of his sailors, were all that escaped out of his vessel by lashing themselves to the masts.

* Johnes's 8vo Edition of Froissart, vol. iii. p. 181.

His ability and veteran astuteness were strikingly conspicuous on a future occasion, when contrasted with the hot-headed impetuosity of one of Richard the 2nd's young favourites, the then Bishop of Norwich, who was not ashamed to prosecute the profession of arms under that title. Being Sir Hugh's superior in birth and command, he ordered an expedition into Flanders against the Clementists in defiance of Sir Hugh's advice, taunting him with reluctance to enterprise, which drew from Sir Hugh Calveley the exclamation, "By —— Sir, if you make an incursion Sir Hugh Calveley will accompany you, and you shall take neither road nor march but he will be of the party." The expedition was as little prosperous as Sir Hugh had predicted. Ormerod mentions Froissart's description of Sir Hugh Calveley's reluctant abandonment of Bergues on this occasion as one of the finest paintings of his romantic and chivalrous pencil. It would only destroy its effect to read isolated parts; and were I to read you the whole either here, or wherever Sir Hugh figures in Froissart's pages, I should much exceed the limits of my paper. We may simply notice that Froissart evidently regards Sir Hugh Calveley with favour, as a brilliant example of chivalry and knighthood; and scarcely ever brings him before you without making him occupy a distinguished place in the foreground of his pictures. The account of the whole expedition is to be found in Johnes's octavo edition of Froissart, 6 vol. from page 265 to 308.

The Lea estate devolved to Sir Hugh Calveley in 1362, and the rich possessions he acquired in his service abroad rendered his wealth enormous. Part of this wealth was devoted a few years before his death to the purchase of the Rectory of Bunbury; he there founded a college, with one master and six curates, and commenced the building of the present church, which was probably completed before his death in 1394, and which received his body. He was interred in the chancel under one of the most sumptuous altar tombs the country can boast.

"Cheshire chief of men," is an old proverb; and we cannot but feel pride, that amid such a host of illustrious names as are emblazoned in the pages of Froissart, we may claim one to whom he gives so distinguished a place.

Before we take leave of his chronicles, I may mention another name we may claim as probably belonging to this neighbourhood.

Sir Robert Knolles (from whom was descended Knolles Earl of Bunbury) is frequently named in his history. He "was of mean parentage in the county of Chester, but by his valour advanced from being a common soldier to be a great commander." "In France he destroyed towns and castles in such number, that long after, the points and gable ends of overthrown houses and minsters were called 'Knolles' Mitres.'"* He is mentioned

* Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 436.

as having with him a nephew, named Hugh Broc, probably an ancestor of the Brocks of Upton, a family now extinct.

The Calveleys, in addition to Saighton Manor-house and its domain, which they acquired at the dissolution, had, Webbe tells us, "next to Church en Heath, a rich and fertile demesne, and a fair ancient timber mansion-house, which now, by the decease of Sir Geo. Calveley, Knight, is his, being in wardship to his Majesty; which house had in times past one addition of honour, when the owner thereof, Sir Hugh Calveley, was governor of Calais, and *married the late Queen of Arragon*; and another by the late presence of our gracious Sovereign King James, in anno 1617, who in his royal progress and return out of Scotland came hither from the City of Chester, and advanced there the said Sir George Calveley to the degree of knighthood."

This timber mansion has now disappeared; marks of its site and of its moat remain.

The latest chronicle of any event which may be regarded as curious, or of archæological interest relating to this part of our subject, is mentioned in a note appended by Ormerod to his notice of Saighton, as existing in the British Museum.

I have taken pains to procure a copy of this tract, which is very short, but certainly not without interest; it is a picture of the times; and one cannot help wishing to know something more about the principal performers. Who was Prince Griffin? was it only a nickname? had it reference to his arms?

"Letter of a sad Tragedy by Prince Griffin, at Sayton, neare Chester, and his severall attempts against the Lady Caufley.* And the bloody murther for which he is fled into Scotland.

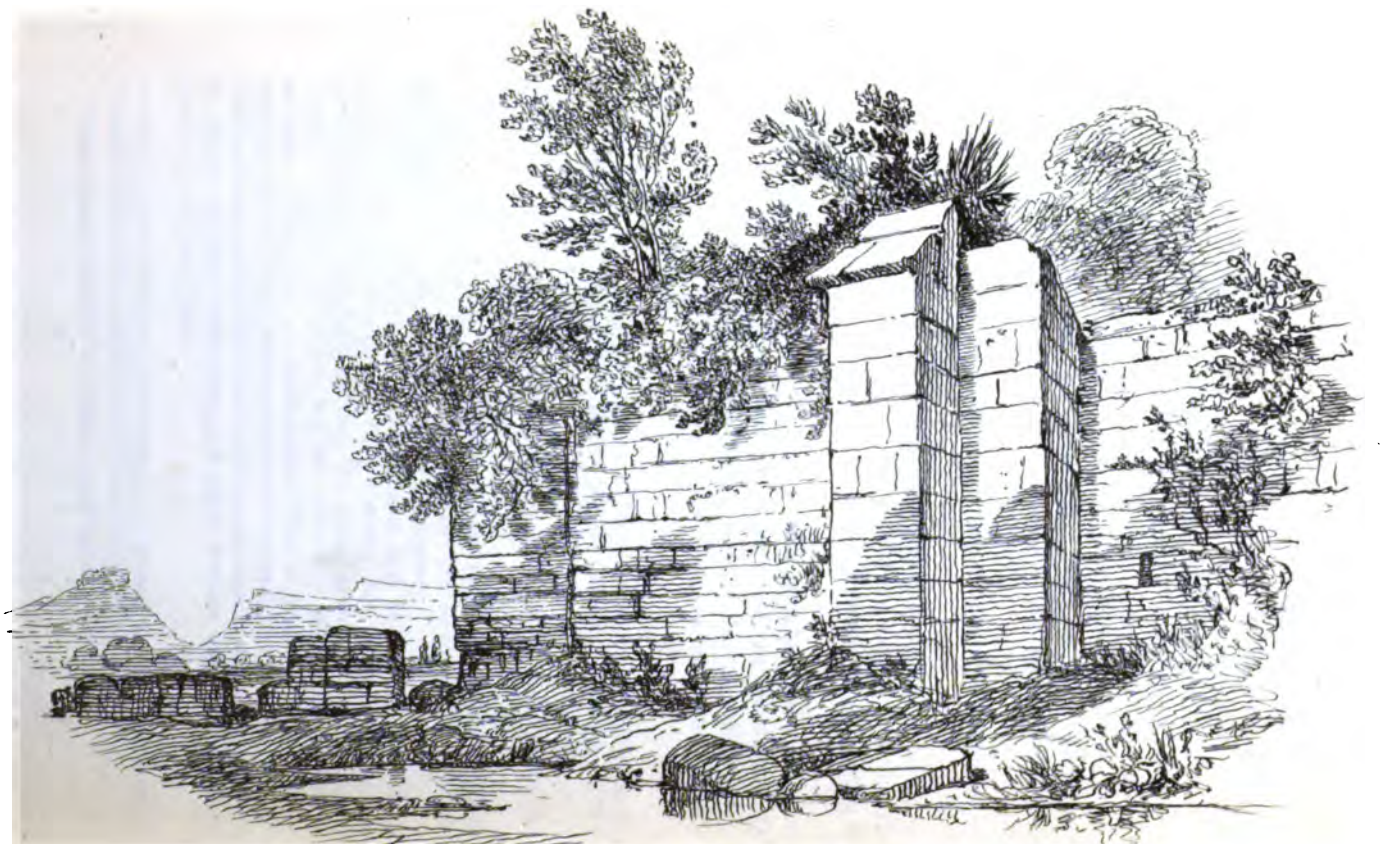
"The copy of a letter concerning Prince Griffin's attempt against the Lady Caufley, in Cheshire:—

"SIR,—Though your London ladies have been so abused by Prince Griffin, who was wont to outface his wretched acts in London, yet his late proceedings here hath made him to fly his country.

"He being lately at the City of Chester, took to himself thoughts of surprising the chastity of the Lady Caufley, Sir Hugh Caufley's wife (a very vertuous and godly woman), the prime beauty of these parts, by repute. Upon his addresse to her, this noble lady, abhorring him, shewed as much slighting of his immoderate offers as could be, and had him exceedinglye in disdain, being troubled at his applications to her. Prince Griffin, seeing that he could not finde any entertainment or incouragement by further personal solicitation, fell upon another way to attempt her chastity by alluring snares.

* There is yet an old Bible on the reading desk in Bruera Chapel, in which is written, "The gift of the Lady Mary Calveley to the Chapel of Churton Heath, A.D. 1670."

The same Lady Calveley died 1705, having survived her husband 57 years.



Remains of Ancient Fortifications. Saighton. Grange.

After a Sketch by Miss Nicholson.

"And he sent unto her to her husband's house at Sayton on the Hill, three miles from Chester City a messenger with a letter and a Token of Silk Stockings, Ribbands, Gloves, and other fine Knacks, to which women are usually allured, with many inticing compliments, to surprise her chastity. Subscribing himself her humble servant.

"But when she saw his name at the subscription of the letter, she (before the messenger's face) threw the letter and the Tokens all into the fire with disdain, and sent back the bearer with as much distate as could be expected.

"After he received newes of this repulse, he again attempted another onset, to make some sport, and sent againe a second messenger, with other presents of fine knacks to the Lady, and as she threw the other into the fire, therefore now he sent Crackers, Squibs, and wild-fire in the paper with them, as if because he could not take the Lady by storm, he would try to blow her up.

"These presents being delivered to her, with a letter, she opened it in her husband's, Sir Hugh's, presence, and seeing Griffin's name, she again, as before, threw them all into the fire.

"But the wild fire and crackers flew about the room, and put them to a little fright for the present.

"Had she left off here it had been better, then after fell out more sad; for Prince Griffin, with three or four more of his comrades, came to the house and asked for her, and being denied accesse to her, he began to be something rash and uncivill, insomuch that he provoked the servants.

"And one of Sir Hugh Caufley's men, making some opposition to him, Prince Griffin drew his sword and run him into the body therewith: and another of his company (with a pistoll) shot him. And the man is since dead. Since which Prince Griffin is fled into Scotland, to take Sanctuary in Edinburgh, but it is hoped that justice will meete with him one way or other, which will be endeavoured by divers gentlemen in these parts, and by

"Your Servant,

"GEORGE JONES."

"Chester City, the 4th
of March, 1647."

THE paper I originally proposed to read to you, carried its remarks no further than Bruera Chapel and Saighton Grange. The contemplation, however, of Sir Hugh Calveley's declining days, and of his princely monument, leads us very naturally to the consideration of Bunbury Church; and, in anticipation that our excursion next month will be so much the more useful and interesting from having previously bestowed a few moments' consideration on one of the objects we propose to visit, I will presume to lead the way in inviting your attention to the subject. Ormerod tells us, that—

"The Church of Bunbury is dedicated to St. Boniface, and from the

mention of a priest in Domesday, it may be inferred that a church then existed, of which, however, it is certain no part now remains. The manor having been divided between the families of Bunbury and St. Pierre, in the latter part of the 12th century, the patronage of the church was shared at the same time by alternate presentation, and so remained until Sir Hugh Calveley purchased both moieties in 1285. The following year, being the 10th Richard 2nd, Sir Hugh had license by the King's letters patent to found here a college or chauntry, for one master and six chaplains, to celebrate mass for the souls of the King, of Sir Hugh Calveley, and of their ancestors; and to endow the same with the advowson of the rectory" He also says, (vol. ii. p. 419,) "A writ, dated 9th Richard 2nd, now remaining in the Exchequer of Chester, for the delivery of timber from Delamere forest, ascertains the building to have been then in progress; and it is most probable that the fabric was completed before the decease of the founder on the feast of St. George in 1394. His body was interred *in the chancel of his college*, where his armed effigies still repose on one of the most sumptuous altar tombs which his county can boast." At page 142 (same vol.) he says, "The chancel appears from its general detail of architecture, particularly the form of the sharp-pointed windows, and the elegant and flowing lines of the tracery, to be part of the original building erected by Sir Hugh Calveley in 1386. One circumstance must not be omitted, which appears to refer it to a somewhat earlier period. Bishop Gastrell, in his Notitia, quotes the following inscription as existing in one of the windows in old English letters in the time of the Randle Holmes:—'S'tus Bonifacius intercedat ad Deum pro Davide de Bonebury, qui in ejus honorem hanc fenestram composuit, in vitâ a°, M.C.C.C.XL.V.' It is, however, most probable that the beauty of the glass, or respect for the donor, induced Sir Hugh Calveley to preserve this fragment of the old church in the windows of his new college." Notwithstanding these remarks, in which Mr. Ormerod recognises the present church as occupying the site and preserving part of Sir Hugh's college, he says, at page 141, "No remains of the college founded by Sir Hugh Calveley are now in existence. The moat may be traced in a field about two hundred yards north-west of the church, and the situation of the buildings and walls may also be traced by the inequalities of the surface."

This apparent discrepancy is easily solved by the fact of there having been *two* buildings—the college and the church—and it is of course in the chancel of the latter that Sir Hugh's remains repose. The original grant speaks always of the "Cantarium *et* collegium;" and in the Commissioners' survey, in the 1st Edward the 6th, the two are mentioned separately, with their yearly value, and the names of the incumbents belonging to the chauntry, as distinct from the names of the wardens

and six collegians.* The site of the college is shewn to the inquirer as Mr. Ormerod indicates, and the recent building, a modern farm-house, still goes by the name of the "College."

The tracery of the east window, lately opened and cleared from rubbish, is a beautiful specimen of the Decorated style. It can, however, scarcely be referred to as Sir Hugh Calveley's work, its character being clearly half a century earlier, and agreeing so exactly with the date of the inscription mentioned in the Notitia, that we can hardly doubt its belonging to the earlier building.

In the chancel still remains the alabaster effigies of Sir Hugh—no longer gorgeous with gold and colouring—but still beautiful in design and proportions; and underneath rest remains which were carefully examined within the last three years, and which there is no doubt are the bones of the hero himself. In answer to my inquiries respecting this search, I received the following memorandum from Mr. Jno. Fenna, of Alpraham:—

"It being matter of dispute with the antiquarians of the parish whether the remains of the late Sir Hugh Calveley lay interred under the monument or not, I solicited and obtained permission of Mr. Aldersey, of Aldersey Hall, to open the vault. I therefore, about the 25th day of April, 1848, in the presence of the Curate and Churchwardens, proceeded to examine the interior of the vault. I found the fragments of an oak coffin, apparently of uncommon size, almost crumbled to dust; the handles of the sides being iron were nearly entire. By the side of his coffin lay a lead coffin quite fresh, with the initials D. M. C. which I suppose to be that of Dame Mary Calveley. I measured some of the bones, which I have no doubt were Sir Hugh's, from their extraordinary size, The *cranium* from the *os frontis* to the *os occipitis* was of much greater dimension than the generality of men, and likewise the transverse section from the *os temporum* to the other *os temporum;* also the *os femoris*, or thigh-bone, was two inches or more longer than the average size of men. He is supposed to have measured seven feet six inches in height when he lived. There is a mark on the wall in Bunbury Church which old people say was the memorandum of his height. "J. FENNA."

The nave and side aisles are of later date, being of the debased style of the 16th century. There are three chapels: one, the "Ridley Oratory,

* "BUNBURY.—The Colledge of Bunbury with the r'c'orye or p'sonage belongeinge to the same having m'' hoslying people within the same, and hath a vicar and oon assistaunt appointed to s've the cure there." Then follow the names of the warden and brethren, &c. with the yearly value,

"Plate and jewels—none.
Goods and ornaments—C.S. vid.
Leade and bells—none."

"THE CHAUNTRYE OF BUNBURY.

"Nicholas Hancokson of th' age of XLVI yeres, and Will'm Burghall of th' age LX yeres incumbents—

"Yerely valewe—XIIL. ȝ IIS.
Plate and jewels—XXXI oz. di.
Goods and ornam'ts—VIS.
Leade and bells—none."

—*Dugdale's Mon.*

is divided from the chancel by three arches sprung from light-clustered columns;" it is lighted by three windows opposite to these arches, and of corresponding form and dimensions, besides a large east window and a smaller one at the west end, half of which projects into the south side of the church—the other half opening by a pointed arch to the Spurstow chancel. The arches are filled with a light Gothic screen, each division of which is divided by mullions into nine compartments terminating in cinque-foil arches, the spandrils of which are filled with small shields and fragments of the arms of Egerton. Along the cornice is this inscription:—

"This Chapel was made at the cost and charge of Sir Rauffe Egerton, Knight, in the year of our Lord God, M.CCCCC.XXVII."

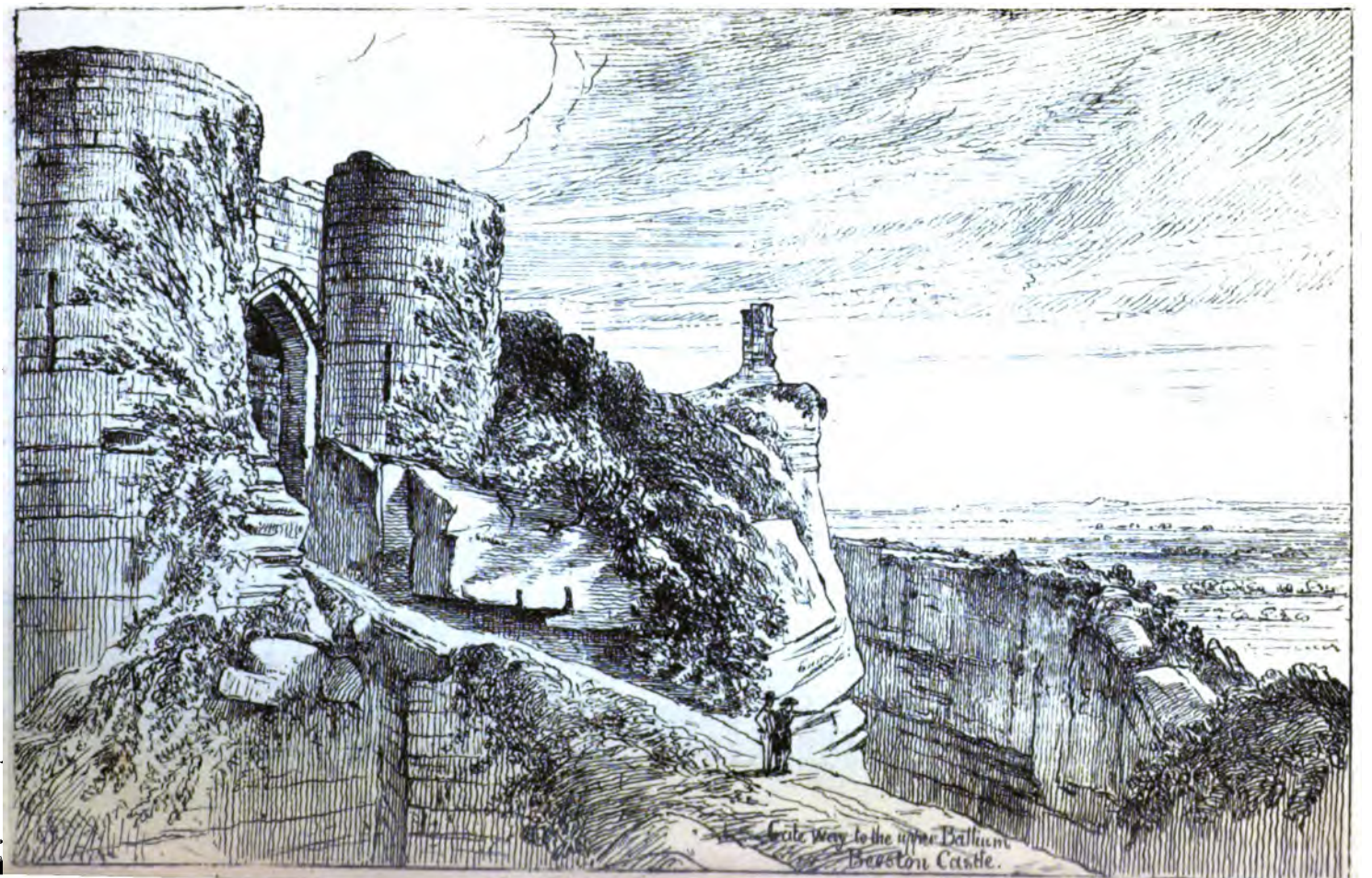
The door of this chapel is a very interesting and elegant specimen of wood carving.

"Some tombstones, now placed on the south side of the churchyard, have most probably been removed from the church. Seven of these appear to have been memorials of ecclesiastics." "Four others are slabs with recumbent figures, which have been torn from altar tombs;" "another represents a lady in a hood with long flowing drapery, clasping between her hands what resembles a large book. Two others represent a knight and his lady, and are placed near the S.E. angle of the churchyard. The knight is much mutilated, but his belt, surcoat, dagger, and sword, are apparent; and on his shield, which is slung by a thong, may be traced a bend between two stars—a difference which varies so little from the early bearings of the Bunburies, that it may with great probability be referred to that family. The lady is habited in long drapery, with a girdle and tassel at the waist."—*Ormerod.*

One feature of the ecclesiastical duties attached to Bunbury Church, existing to the present day, remains to be noticed. In the reign of Elizabeth, Thos. Aldersey, of London, citizen and haberdasher, a younger brother of the Aldersey family, formed a scheme for a new foundation of a school and ecclesiastical establishment at Bunbury. Having purchased the revenues of the college (then vested in the Crown), he raised a sum of £130 per annum by letting the tolls of Ridley and other townships, some of them for 2,000, and others for 500 years. This sum he apportioned to support a schoolmaster, usher, &c.; and gave "a hundred marks per annum and the best of the houses, with about 20 marks per annum in land, to a preacher, and about £20 per annum to a curate."

There are, therefore, now two resident clergy at Bunbury, whose duty is entirely independent—one performing the church service, and having the cure of souls; the other, whose only duty it is to preach.

Unfortunately for the full performance of Mr. Aldersey's benevolent intentions, the oversight was committed of fixing the amount of these stipends in money, so that the value is now very inadequate to the donor's purpose.


Gate Way to the upper Bathum
Beeston Castle.

Bersten Castle.

BY WILLIAM AYRTON.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, in the Upper Ballium of the Castle, 7th July, 1851.

THE first contemplation of remains, such as the ruins of this venerable and once majestic castle, gives a promise to the eye and the imagination of a store of rich archæological material and historic event, which is grievously disappointed in its fulfilment when we come to examine the authentic records on which we have to depend for all that we may venture to assert relating to its rise, its existence, and its undoubtedly eventful history. Striking is the contrast afforded by some conventual building,—in examining its remains, or considering its legends; each one alternately telling the story or confirming the fact: here, a portion of building, speaking in plain undoubted evidence of a certain epoch; there, a record, some grant perhaps of Earl or Prince to kill venison, or fall timber, verifying the date; or, *vice versa*, some record of Baron or Abbot, who, "in the service of God, and for the good of his soul," built or restored such and such part of the building; from which record we may lift our eyes to the architecture, and read in its interesting variety of character, the seal of confirmation: so that the more deeply you enter into the detail and history of such a building, the more you are drawn on with unflagging interest, history seeming ever to have something yet untold—variety of style affording ever fresh ground for research and speculation. To no two examples could we more fitly turn, than to those neighbouring ones, the churches of St. Werburgh and St. John.

Very different is the result when we come to inquire into the history of some such building as that which is now the scene of our meeting, and the subject of our consideration. We are tantalised by the unavailing wish to know somewhat of the stirring events of which its silent walls have so surely been the witness: of the military pomp, and warlike cavalcade, the feats of arms, the noble deeds of "derring do," the fierce assault, the stern defiance, the long protracted siege; all the varied reverses of war, of triumph, and of subjection. The page should be brighter far, the legend of infinitely more thrilling interest, than that

compiled by the studious, solitary Monk. But alas! the page is a blank! and our sense of what may have been the scenes transacted on ground so striking, only heightens our disappointment at finding so little reality in history on which to dwell.

So it is with most of these Norman Castles. Erected by some baron of power and energetic will, they imposed dominion on the country, oppressed the vassals, offered defiance to regal authority, and having answered the purposes for which they were designed, they passed away,—their records of blood, written with the sword, perishing with themselves, and leaving nothing but a grey ruin,—a massive keep perchance, a deep dungeon, or a half-filled moat!

The site of Beeston Castle, rendered not only important from its natural advantages as a place of defence, but from its situation on the map leaves scarcely a doubt that its position must have been always a matter of moment in ancient times, and have consequently been the object of many a contest, both to the British, the Romans, and the Saxons, before we have any account of its having been regularly fortified by a Norman Earl.

A glance at the map of Cheshire shews us a range of hills extending from Frodsham to Tarporley, and from Beeston very nearly to Malpas, surrounding Chester as it were to the south, and leaving only three avenues by which the city was easily accessible. The most southerly of these approaches was through the level plains between the Dee and the Peckforton range of hills, by Malpas and Shocklach, through Farndon, and was the route chosen by the Romans for their road from Deva to Uriconium, described in the second Iter of Antoninus.

The one to the north—the one most difficult of access and capable of defence—was that by the pass of Kelsall, through which ran the great Roman road of the Gwethlin, or Watling-street; and we find in the remains of the fortifications of Kilsborough, and of the camp at Edisbury, how jealously that pass in later times was guarded.

Between these two avenues, where the hills of the Forest terminate near Tarporley, and before the Peckforton range commences, lay a tract of level country which offered the third avenue of approach to Chester, and must have ever rendered the hill of Beeston, which may be said to command it, a post of infinite importance, whenever the country was liable to become the seat of war. A third Roman road, that of communication between Colchester and Chester, took this direction, and has been traced lately immediately under the rocks of this Castle.

I believe no remains of any fortifications bearing the character of a date previous to those erected in the thirteenth century, have ever been discovered here. They may well, however, have existed, and subsequently disappeared under the alterations and more substantial buildings of the Earl of Chester.

The first record we have of any Castle of Beeston is, that it was built by Randle, sixth earl of Chester, in the year 1220, who, according to Ranulph Higden, "after he was come from the Holie Land, began to build the Castles of Chartleigh and Beeston, and also after builded the Abbey of 'Dieu l'encresse'" (near Leek).

The style of these fortifications, so evidently Saracenic in their character, quite confirms the account, and reminds us of other castles which date about the same era, and bear the same marks of Eastern origin, in particular the walls of the town and castle of Conway. As we have no appearance of fortifications anterior to Earl Randle's building, so neither have we any which we can look upon as certainly of later date. The repairs and restorations of 1645 (when it was again regularly fortified and garrisoned) have all disappeared, probably when the Castle was dismantled and destroyed during the Commonwealth, and the ruins which remain no doubt formed part of the original Castle of the 13th century. We are thus enabled to look uninterruptedly on the original design; and it would perhaps not be difficult to produce from these remains a plan of the Castle restored to its original state.

The Lower, or outer Ballium, was defended by a chain of eight towers, connected by a wall stretching across the hill in an irregular semicircle, from the south to the north, leaving the west side to its natural defence of inaccessible precipice. The approach to this ballium, or court, Ormerod states to have been defended by a square tower, of which there are still some remains; but its principal defence appears to have been a gateway, with two massive semi-circular towers, built on exactly the same plan as the one defending the entrance to the upper ballium. This lower court contains a large extent of ground (about seven or eight acres), and must have required a very large body of men effectually to garrison it: it was, however, probably only held as a convenience for pasturage and primary defence, and was abandoned for the upper ballium (which really constituted the fortress) whenever the garrison was hard pressed. Webbe mentions two wells existing in his day (1650), one of them in this outer court, and says, "by the long descent of a stone, when you shall hear the fall of it, of huge depth." This well is now wholly choked up, and only some uncertain marks indicate its probable site.

The upper ballium was no doubt *the* Castle; and, before the age of artillery, might from its impregnable strength, have defied all attacks save those of long blockade and starvation. We see with what skill and ability the advantages of Nature were seconded by the aid of Art to render this stronghold absolutely inaccessible. On the one side a tremendous precipice, such as the brain even now dares scarcely to regard fixedly; on the other, a wide rocky trench, too deep to scale, and deep enough to bury an army, encircles the fortress, as it were an island; and only in one spot, attained

by ascending a flight of steep steps to a narrow platform, was access given at the will of the holders, by raising their portcullis and letting fall their drawbridge; while the massive towers on either side commanded means which would even then have swept a too daring, or a treacherous foe from before its gateway.

The gateway is a pointed arch of Early English style, flanked by two very strong semi-circular towers, and has been provided with a portcullis and drawbridge; from the marks which remain, we may see that the entrance was not as at present, so far beneath the arch, but from a platform just level with the top of the present door.

The gateway and the well within the upper court are the only remains at all perfect about the Castle. The well was, according to Webbe, about 91 yards deep in his time, though then very much filled up with rubbish.

Having surveyed the remains of this "place of great strength," we are naturally led to inquire into some history of its events. Of its early times we are, however, left (as I have said before), if not in utter ignorance, only in possession of such isolated facts as testify to its continued importance, without gratifying our curiosity as to its occupants, their triumphs, their trials, or their reverses. The only interesting details connected with the early history of this Castle, are those relating rather to its founder than to itself; and though it would be altogether foreign to the intention and scope of this paper to enter into a detailed history of this celebrated Earl, some notice of his career and its most striking incidents may be thought not inappropriate or uninteresting.

Randle the Third, sixth earl of Chester, surnamed Blundeville (or more properly Blondevill, from his birth at Album Monasterium) was undoubtedly the greatest and most powerful of the Norman earls of Chester, and has left behind him more decided proofs of the sway he exercised in the kingdom by his courage, energy and ability, than any other Cheshire noble since the Conquest.

To his determined loyalty and support was King John very chiefly indebted for his security on the throne, while he did not hesitate sharply and openly to rebuke that monarch in Parliament for his licentious practices. By his championship was John's son, Henry III. established on his father's throne, when Lewis, son of the King of France, contested the prize, on which occasion Randle de Blondeville raised a puissant army, anno 1217, and taking Henry with him marched to Lincoln, where Lewis, with the Earl of Perch, lay waiting for him. Walter de Wittlesey, a monk of Peterborough, relates an anecdote of the meeting of the two earls before Lincoln Cathedral, when the Earl of Perch, observing Randle to be small of stature, exclaimed, "Have here waited all this while for so small a dwarf!" To which Randle answered, "I vow to God and our Lady whose

church this is, that before to-morrow evening, I will seem to thee greater and taller than that steeple."

The following day he gave battle to the Earl of Perch and slew him, and seizing on Lewis in the church, caused him to swear on the relics on the high altar, never to lay claim to the kingdom of England, but to quit the realm with all his followers, which being done, he sent for young Henry (then only ten years old), who during that time lay privately in a cowhouse belonging to Bardney Abbey, near Lincoln, and setting him upon the altar delivered him seizure of this kingdom as his inheritance—by a white wand instead of a sceptre—doing his homage to him, as did all the nobility then present.

Previous to this occurrence it was, that his relief at Ruddlan, by Roger Lacy, took place; with the circumstances of which story we are no doubt all of us familiar.

In 1218, 2nd Henry III. having made peace with Llewellyn, he took a voyage to Jerusalem, in fulfilment of a vow made together with King John, which that monarch did not live to fulfil. He distinguished himself at the seige of Damietta, and assisted in its conquest.

Abundant evidence occurs of his determined and warlike spirit, frequently withstanding the King, and taking the lead on those occasions of resistance to the Royal authority so common among the powerful barons of the day. One of these instances occurred in 1232 (the last year of his life), when in Parliament assembled in London, "the King demanded money for the discharge of his debts occasioned by the wars: the Earl of Chester, in answering for the nobility of the kingdom, told him that the earls, barons, and knights which held of him "in capite," were personally with him in the service, and had exhausted their own money in that service, and therefore ought not to pay anything, and so nothing was granted." He was also (as has been well observed by our Hon. Secretary, in his little manual on Beeston Castle) a staunch Protestant—the only objection being that he protested not against the errors, but against the *demands* of Popery. He prevented the tithes of the Pope from being exacted throughout his earldom, of which evidence occurs in 1229.

Randle was twice married, but had no issue. He died in 1232, having enjoyed the earldom 51 years, and was succeeded by his nephew, John Scott, Earl of Huntingdon, who was the seventh and last independent earl of Chester.

At the death of this earl, in 1237, Henry III. seized on the castles of Chester and Beeston, and in 1256 Prince Edward received the homage of the nobles and gentry at Chester as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester.

In the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, 1264, the earldom was seized on by him and Beeston Castle garrisoned by his partisans, but on Prince Edward's escape from Hereford, in 1265, James de Audley and Urian St.

Pierre possessed themselves of the Castle on their Sovereign's behalf. After the battle of Evesham, in the following May, Prince Edward marched to Beeston with Simon de Montford, and other leaders of the rebellion, captive, where his enemies, Simon,* abbot of St. Werburgh, and Lucas de Taney, justice of Chester, threw themselves on his mercy on the vigil of the feast of the assumption.

According to Stow, and a MS. in the Harleian Collection (2111—98), Richard II. selected Beeston Castle as a safe stronghold for his jewels and treasures, and deposited them there to the amount of 200,000 marks (about £134,000), having great confidence in the men of Cheshire, which was always his favourite county. He garrisoned the Castle with 100 men at arms,—amply sufficient one should say to render it impregnable. Here, however, as elsewhere, Richard was unfortunate; and there can be little doubt that treachery and corrupt motives led to its abandonment, without an assault, to Bolinbroke, Duke of Lancaster.

The last notice of Beeston Castle as a regular fortress is in 1460, when it is included in the recital of manors and castles belonging to the earldom.

Eighty years afterwards it was described by Leland as being in a ruinous, shattered state; and thus it remained until the wars of the 17th century, which rendered it of course too important a post to remain unoccupied, and it was taken possession of by the Parliamentarians, who put it in a state of defence and garrisoned it with 300 men. It did not, however, long remain in their possession, for in the December following occurred the only affair respecting Beeston Castle of which we have any details. These have been preserved in the diary of an eye-witness, Edward Burghall, then schoolmaster of Bunbury, and afterwards vicar of Aston:—

"On Dec. 13, 1642—3, a little before day, Captain Sandford, a zealous Royalist, who came out of Ireland, with eight of his firelocks, crept up the steep hill of Beeston Castle, got into the upper ward, and took possession of it there. It must have been done by treachery, for the place was most impregnable. Captain Steel, who kept it for the Parliamentarians, was accused and suffered for it; but it was verily thought that he had betrayed it wilfully, that some of his men proving false he had not courage enough to withstand Captain Sandford, to try it out with him.

"What made much against Steel was, that he took Sandford down to his chamber, where they dined together, and much beer was sent up to Sandford's men, and the Castle, after a short parley, was delivered up; Steel and his men having leave to march with their arms and colours to Nantwich. But as soon as they were come into that town, the soldiers were so enraged against him that they would have pulled him to pieces, had they not clapped him in prison. There was much wealth and goods belonging to gentlemen and neighbours, who had brought it there for safety, besides ammunition and provision for a year and a half, all which the enemy got."—*Burghall's Diary.*

* This Simon was only elected abbot that month, under Simon de Montford's usurpation; the abbacy was, however, confirmed to him on his submission to Edward.

Steel did not escape the punishment of his treachery or cowardice, whichever it was. He was tried for the latter offence about six weeks after, shot at Nantwich, and buried in a field called the "Tinkers' Croft."

The Royalists retained quiet possession of Beeston Castle until Oct. 1644, when the Parliamentarians again advanced from Nantwich (all along a stronghold of that party), and laid siege to it. The defence made must have been a gallant one, as the garrison were in want of fuel and other necessaries when the siege commenced. They held out for five winter months, until the 17th March following, when they were relieved by the advance of Princes Rupert and Maurice, who came with great force, and obliged the Parliamentarians to raise the siege. On this occasion the hall of Beeston was burnt by Prince Rupert, to prevent its being seized and held to the annoyance of the garrison, by the opposite party; and it is said that he did not communicate his intention to the lady of the house until he rose from dinner, when he expressed his regret at being compelled thus to requite her hospitality.

In April the Parliamentarians again besieged the Castle, and so vigorously that they were already prepared for an assault, having "begun to raise a brave mount with a strong ditch about it, and had placed great buildings thereon," when the approach of the King with his forces again obliged them to abandon the attempt.

Beeston Castle was thus gallantly maintained as a Royalist post for King Charles through that eventful war, until the disastrous battle of Rowton Heath destroyed his power and paralysed the Royalists in this neighbourhood. It was not, however, surrendered without a protracted defence, on 16th Nov. 1645, by the Governor (some say a Captain Valet, others Col. Barraud) to Sir W. Brereton. Although reduced to the last extremity, and only numbering 56 men, the garrison obtained such terms that they were allowed to depart in arms, with all the honours of war—drums beating, colours flying and matches lighted, with two cart loads of goods, and safe conduct to Denbigh. There was neither meat nor drink found in the Castle after their departure, but only the remains of a turkey pie, and a live peacock and peahen.

In the following year Beeston Castle was dismantled, and time has since doubtless contributed much in giving to these remains their present picturesque appearance of ruin and decay.

The manor of Beeston (of which the Castle ceased to form part when it was purchased from the Bunburys by Randle the 3rd) remained in the family of the Beestons, until it passed by marriage to the Savages of Rock Savage, and again in a similar way to the Mostyns, from whose heiress, Lady Champneys, it was purchased by the present owner, Mr. Tollemache.

The only member of the Beeston family of any note was the Sir Hugh Beeston, whose tomb we have this morning examined in Bunbury Church. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his achievement against the Spanish Armada at the age of 89, and lived to enjoy his honours to the age of 102.

The Church of St. John the Baptist

IN CHESTER,

BY THE REV. H. RAIKES,

CHANCELLOR OF THE DIOCESE.

NEXT to the Cathedral in size and dignity of elevation stands the Church of St. John the Baptist. In extent and variety of architectural character it can bear no comparison with the former, but in its early history, in its situation, in the beauty of some of its remains; and in that interest, which belongs in every case to departed greatness, and which mixes regret for what is lost with delight in what is possessed, this Church possesses claims on the notice of our Society which are not inferior to those of the Cathedral itself. We cannot forget that this Church was once the seat of Episcopacy; that the See when transferred from Lichfield to Chester was established here; and that for a season St. John's Church was the Cathedral of that vast Diocese, which included in its scope the present Sees of Manchester, Chester and Lichfield. The notices that may be collected as to the causes and purpose of these changes are unfortunately scanty and dubious. The dates of the building, the names of the builders have not been recorded as they would have been, if a Cathedral body had been the depository of its records; the transfer of power too frequently involves the loss of documentary titles; and much of the early history of the building must be supplied from conjecture, or be constructed out of casual and imperfect notices.

One curious and interesting record still exists on a wooden pannel which was found inserted in the roof, and which having been repaired and restored, is hung up at present at the western end of the Church, and contains a pretended extract from the work of Giraldus Cambrensis. Whatever be the authority belonging to it, there is a kind of archaic simplicity in the language, which cannot fail to arrest the attention of the

reader, and dispose him to believe its statement, though there may be room to question its authenticity. The inscription runs as follows:—

"In the year of grace six hundred four score and nine, as saith my author a Briton Giraldus, King Ethelred minding most the blisse of Heaven, edified a Colledge Church notable and famous in the suburbs of Chester pleasant and beauteous to the honour of God and the Baptist Saint John, with the help of Bishop Wilfred and good excillion."

This notice it is seen professes to be an extract from the work of Giraldus Cambrensis. I sought in vain to verify it by comparison with the original; and though this must throw suspicion on the whole as an historical document, the circumstances under which it was found, and the touching simplicity of its expressions, must make it an object of interest to all who enter the Church with a view of inquiring into its origin; and in default of better proof, we may assume that the first foundation of the Church on this site may be ascribed to the individuals named, men who occupied a considerable post in the early history of our country.

The King Ethelred, who is here designated as the founder of the Church, must, from the date assigned to him, have been that King of Mercia, whose power extended over most of the Saxon kingdoms; and who, after a life of violence and excess, grew according to the opinion of the time devout in his later years, and ended his days in a monastery. It is recorded of him that he divided his kingdom, augmented as it was by conquest, into five Dioceses—Hereford, Worcester, Lichfield, Leicester and Cydnacester; and that he placed over the See of Leicester the man Wilfred, whose name is associated with his own in this legend. The known character of Wilfred, and the share he took in the political and ecclesiastical movements of the period, make it probable that he might have suggested or forwarded the pious purpose of the Monarch. He seems, from what is known of his life, to have been one of those extraordinary men who are raised up from time to time to give a character to the age in which they live, and to urge forward the progress of improvement by the changes which they are the means of introducing. Like the Becket, like the Wolsey of later days, he seems to have been gifted in personal appearance as well as in powers of mind, able and ambitious, reckless and persevering. We hear of him in every rank of life, and in every part of England—sometimes established in the favour of princes, sometimes an exile or in prison; at one time Bishop of York, at another a missionary among the South Saxons and founding the See of Selsey; but possessing that buoyancy of spirit which raised him above the power of fortune, and that energy of mind which never failed to recommend him to notice. Banished from the See of York, he took refuge in the kingdom of Sussex, and converted the heathen inhabitants of the Coast to Christianity, by teaching

See Lysons's Cheshire:

One Bay of the Nave of St. John's Church Chester, divested of its incumbrances and pews. Surely every hand would be ready for the work of restoration. — See p. 182.

them to catch fish in ways which they did not know before. In days of general ignorance he was celebrated as a man of learning as well as piety; and Ethelred, at whose Court he sought refuge, may probably have found in him the man who was needed to carry his devout intentions to completion, as well as to prompt the resolution.

The original foundation is described as being a College Church; and the phrase made use of may deserve a passing explanation. Previous to the introduction of the parochial division of the country, which followed the national establishment of Christianity in England; the Churches that were founded were collegiate, not parochial; and were generally formed under the rule of St. Benedict. The Christians at that period forming but a small portion of the population, and being generally collected in the towns, the Clergy were not scattered as they are at present, like salt on the surface of the country; but were placed together under the supervision of the Bishop, or latterly of the Abbot, and formed a College or Community of Priests. Living thus in common, they were prepared to act as missionaries upon the surrounding heathenism, and went out to preach the Gospel in the neighbourhood wherever openings presented themselves. By these means, they were protected from the violence to which they might otherwise have been subjected from the peasantry; while their own conduct was under the superintendence of their spiritual superior, and they had leisure to cultivate that knowledge of which they were the sole depositories.

As long as the Church occupies a missionary position we may suppose that this will at all times be the most expedient arrangement; and probably it was thus alone that the first teachers of the Gospel could have been preserved, or religion itself been saved from extinction. This, therefore, was the plan on which Ethelred founded the first Church of St. John's, and thus made it the centre from which the light of truth was to radiate through the surrounding county; nor can we deny the wisdom exhibited in the spot selected for the purpose.

It has been often remarked that the position of the monasteries was chosen with peculiar taste; and when the world was all before them, that taste had ample scope on which to exercise itself. Few places, however, can be imagined, which at that time appeared more favourable than the site chosen for the College Church of St. John's. The river Dee flowed beneath it, and at that time must have flowed over a deep and rocky channel, for the weir had not then collected the waters of the stream as it does at present. The opposite bank was clothed with woods, which extended as far as the eye could reach, till the view was bounded by the distant hills; while the brow on which the Church was built, must have spread its long slope to the southern sun, and offered space for gardens or pasture. And we need not imagine that the inhabitants of that favoured spot were

unprofitable tenants. That they did according to the light they had, faithfully preach the Gospel, seems probable from the effects that followed their establishment here; and if we suppose, as we are bound to do, that the same rule was observed here which prevailed in all the Benedictine houses, which combined bodily labour and study with meditation and devotion, and which we know was carried into effect at Bangor; we may then believe, that the first efforts in agricultural improvement, the embankment of the river, the clearing of the forest, might be traced to the inmates of St. John's; and that while the Saxon chiefs were occupied in war, or in the chase, the arts of peace were being cultivated by those, who professed to be the servants of the Prince of Peace.

But if I venture to ascribe the original foundation of the Church to Ethelred, and give to him and his advisers the credit of selecting such a site; I do not suppose that any part of the existing fabric belongs to such an early date. The buildings of a decidedly Saxon original are very few in number, and fall very far below the remains that we see at present, in their plans and proportions. That the College Church thus founded by Ethelred continued and flourished, may be inferred from the story generally received on the authority of Ralph Higden, that King Edgar being at Chester with his army, about 971, was rowed in his barge from his palace to St. John's Church by six petty princes, who came to pay their homage.

But whoever may have been the original builder of this Church, there can be no doubt that it exhibits the largest and most complete specimen of the earliest style of Ecclesiastical architecture extant in the county. The authority of Richard Hoveden has been cited as a ground for asserting that the building was erected in 906, by Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, and his wife Ethelfleda. It was subsequently repaired by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, who died in 1057; and the nave, a portion of which is now used as the Parish Church, seems from its dimensions to belong to that later period, when the Norman Conqueror introduced more splendid notions of architecture, and ampler means for building. A plan of the Church, as it was found in 1581, and for the publication of which we are indebted to those accomplished and laborious antiquarians, the Lysonses, shews that the early Church was more than twice the length of the present, the nave being supported by seven massive columns, four of which alone appear at present, while the choir consisted of three arches instead of one. Judging, therefore, of the length of the first fabric from the present proportions, we must infer that the whole Church could not have been less than 250 feet, the present Church being 120. The triforium and clerestory are of the style of the Early English architecture; and among the ruins at the east end, which appear to have formed a recess, being five sides of an octagon, intended probably for the high altar, are some beautiful specimens of later work.

The period when the Church obtained its enlarged form was probably about the time when the See of Lichfield was translated to Chester, from 1075 to 1102. That union did not last long; but a memorial of it remains in the patronage which the Bishop of Lichfield possesses in Cheshire; Tarvyn, Wybunbury, and Coppenhall still belonging to that See, as Farndon, Burton and Bangor once did.

When St. John's lost its short-lived dignity of Cathedral, it sank at once to the level of the many conventual houses in that great Diocese, which included at that period so large a portion of the kingdom. It is named in the Monasticon as a dependency on Lichfield, and is described as the Church of St. John, in the suburb of Chester, together with its appurtenances, among which is named the village called Foresta. From this time, therefore, we must regard it as a Collegiate Church, under the government of an Abbot, with eight Canons, and ten Vicars Choral; and must ascribe the later additions to the fabric, and the small chapels and cells which were built around it, to the exertions made by the fraternity, and the revenues at their disposal.

We have reason, however, to lament that the builders were either unfortunate in the choice of materials, or unskilful in the use of them; for the Church seems to owe its ruin in no small degree to the fall of the towers attached to it.

In 1470 the great tower, which stood between the nave and the choir, fell and destroyed the choir, and probably the north transept; and in the year 1574 one side of the western tower, which from some wish to modify and curtail the original plan had been built within the end of the Norman Church, fell with similar effect on the western front. The architecture of this tower, which may be judged of from its remains, seems to shew that it could not have stood more than a century at the time of its fall. This last calamity occurred likewise at a critical and unfortunate period. At other times an appeal might have been made to the bounty of the people, who would not have failed to respond to the Church's call; or the estates of the house might have been mortgaged in order to meet the expenses of a restoration. But the zeal which had raised the ecclesiastical monuments of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries was then grown cold. The wealth of the nobility had been exhausted in the civil wars; and the growing spirit of inquiry was no longer submissive to the demands of the Church. The Reformation, therefore, found the Church of St. John almost in a state of ruin, and the public mind in a frame most adverse to any measure for repairing it. In 1581 the parishioners having obtained a grant of the old Church from the Queen began to build some part of it again, and to cut off all the chapels above the choir; and that which was left of the choir, together with that portion of the nave which appears to have been separated when

the western tower was built, have ever since been used as the Parish Church.

The plan for which we are indebted to Mr. Lysons, and the original of which is in the British Museum, was taken at this precise time, and the references with which it is accompanied, give a faithful and sometimes a touching description of the state in which this venerable fabric was found. The east end is described as the quire, "wherein standeth a very fair window, lately built, with all the east end of the wall." "The body of the Church, wherein standeth the pillars and the pews," shews that it was fitted up for public worship. "A little low old chapel, now used as a store-house," is described on the north side of the Church, and on the east side of an aisle which occupies the place of a transept, there being a corresponding aisle or transept on the south side. A house which, with the garden adjoining, must have stood where Miss Orange's house now is, is mentioned as "a house built to the Church wall side reputed to be the woollen and linen websters meeting-house or hall;" and "another small house stands contiguous to the porch." The tower is described as "the steeple, whereof the one half, or two sides are ruinated, and is building, being already neere twelve yards, and so standeth unconnected, being a very fair steeple, about twenty-six yards high." "The west end of the Church is in ruins; whereof part of the steeple and the west end of the Church, and a fair window was lately re-edified with stone." The space at the east end behind the newly-built window is "a yard to keep timber in." The octagonal end to the choir is described as "a fine little chapple, the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Church part ruinated, being arched and richly adorned with carved work on the stone; the walling and the stones gone." The space that had formed the choir, is named as "diverse chapels, and fair rooffs, vaulted or arched over with stone, richly carved and gilt, with walks on the sides ruinated, yet part of the outward old walls standing, with divers of the old pillars and partitions belonging to the College." A space which corresponds with the dwelling called the Priory, is said to be "a house or some chambers, sometyme belonging to the Church Priests, yet standing partly in a reparation." The north and east sides of the steeple were very fair and sound. The old Parish Church of St. James, which stood on the south side nearly parallel with the tower, was then used for a garner.

The Dean of the College had a lodge to the south out of the Church, and a hall belonging to the Cholmondeley family stood on the north side of the Church, and was destroyed during the Siege.

On the cliff above the river, and on a detached projection, an old building still stands which bears the name of the Anchorite's Cell. To this place it was said that Harold retired, after escaping from the field of battle at Hastings, and there ended his days in devotion; but the fact rests on legends to which no credit can be given.

Such then was the state to which this magnificent pile was reduced, when Queen Elizabeth granted the advowson to her favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton. It is well, perhaps, that history should have been silent as to the steps by which this work of desolation had been carried on. The ejected brethren had not the power of even telling their own tale. Crushed in spirit, and terrified by popular clamour, they dared not lift up voice or hand in defence of the fabric; while those who shared in the spoil felt that it was well to keep silence, and to say little as to the means by which they had got so much. From the period of the suppression of monasteries in 1537 down to 1581, little probably had been done towards protecting the buildings. Everything that could be taken away and sold was carried off; and the spirit of mischief and party feeling marred and mutilated that which could not be removed.

A long interval therefore occurs, during which no notice exists, till we come to the year 1635, when the Churchwardens' books, for access to which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. W. B. Marsden, the Vicar, begin to offer a regular account of the parochial expenditure, from which I select a few particulars as presenting traits of domestic history, not unmixed with deeper feelings from their association with public transactions.

These books contain a statement of the annual expenditure, and the appointment of parochial officers, churchwardens, collectors for the poor, synods-men or sworne-men, auditors, lessees, and commissioners for placing and displacing, under the authority of the Worshipful Commissioners and rest of the parishioners. The heads, as might be expected, are generally uniform, but they occasionally receive light from other histories, or reflect light on them. For instance, in 1677 there is an entry of 3s. 6d. paid to the ringers, for not ringing when the Bishop came to view the Church; and it seems singular that money should be paid to men for not doing that which they generally delight in doing. We may recollect, however, that Bishop Bridgman, who then held the See, had given great offence, by endeavouring to induce the congregation of St. Oswald's to attend the sermon in the Cathedral; and we may suspect that some feeling of resentment prompted the Vestry on this occasion to withhold the usual tribute of a peal to the Bishop on his visit.

I find, however, in every year a payment of 5s. to the ringers on the 5th of November. I find 3s. 4d. paid for ringing when his Majesty came from Scotland in 1641; 3s. for a dozen and half of tallow candles, and 13s. 4d. for three pounds and a half of wax candles, two tapers, and two tar barrels; evidently the materials for illumination.

On subsequent occasions similar charges are made for ringing on those transient successes, which were termed at the time, victories by the Royal party. An annual payment occurs for repairing, or keeping the road to

the shoemakers' meeting; which I conceive was that hall, which Mr. Lysons calls the Linen Websters' Hall; and which stood on the north side of the Church.

There is also an annual payment for writing the houseling-book; and an account of receipts under the head of lea stalls, and seating in Church. I was puzzled for some time by an entry of frequent occurrence, of money paid for urchants; till at last I found that urchants were urchins, and that the payment was made for the destruction of hedge-hogs, under the false and foolish notion, that still prevails, of their being hurtful to cows. Some of these entries serve to give a notion of the prices of the day. Sheet-lead seems to have been 12s. the cwt.; solder 1s. the lb.; wine 1s. a quart; and carpenters' wages 14d. a day.

In 1645 the Siege began, and in that year Prince Maurice administered a test or protestation to all the inhabitants, and I find 2s. charged for writing the names of those who took the test. Soon after 2s. 6d. is charged for ringing on the King's coming, but confusion and distress from that period seem to have pervaded all classes. The parochial registers are not kept; and the few entries in the Churchwardens'-books, give a sad evidence of the general pressure of calamity. In 1646 the suburb of Boughton was carried by a sudden assault of the Parliamentarian force, commanded by Col. Jones; and the Church of St. John was occupied as a shelter for the operations directed against the City Wall. A cannon ball was found not long ago bedded in the stone work of the tower; and if the artillery of that time had in any degree resembled the service of the present day, the building would have been levelled with the ground. It is probable that the City Wall was chiefly defended by musquetry; and though the roof of the Church may have been destroyed, and the upper part of the side walls on the northern side injured, the interior seems to have sustained no damage, and the arches of the clerestory bear no mark of a bombardment.

It is evident, however, from the parish book, that the interior was devastated. I find, for instance, 2s. 6d. paid to the soldiers for part of the clock; as if the clock had been plundered, and part of it recovered from the plunderers. I find other entries of charges, for carrying "Fourmes from the Cathedral to St. John's," apparently for the accommodation of the congregation; and 3s. 8d. for drawing a petition. I find money paid for mending the Seates of the Church, and for a new desk, and a cover for the table in the Church.

In the next year the introduction of a new minister, appointed by the Parliament, is intimated by the charge of 9d. for an hour glass, a piece of furniture in general use in the Puritan pulpit. The kindly feelings of the Vestry towards their new pastor are expressed by a charge of 2s. for a quart of burnt sack to welcome Mr. Ball to Chester; and a similar charge



Vide Remarks at page 182.

Interior of St. John's Church Chester, at the principal entrance, being now even worse than it was, when drawn for the "Beauties of England and Wales." This is the view which first meets the eye of every visitor, & excites so much indignation

is made whenever a new minister officiates in his place. The general distress may be inferred from a charge of 2s. for making two petitions, one to the Mayor and the other to the Commissioners, for a collection to repair the Church; and it is impossible not to feel grateful to the Author of Peace and giver of all good things, while we compare the quietness and plenty enjoyed by all ranks at present, with the sufferings and penury which are thus disclosed in the accounts of the Churchwardens.

I looked to the Parish Registers for some record of the loss of life during the Siege, and of the sickness which followed it; but it seems as if general distress had paralyzed the energies of all; and there are no entries whatever respecting that period. Even in the year of plague, 1666, the mortality recorded in the registry does not exceed the average; and I must suppose that the pestilence was chiefly confined to the parishes within the Walls; and that the population of St John's escaped through the advantages of its situation, or that its numbers were diminished by the destruction of the suburb on that side of the city.

In the year 1672, from some cause which is not noticed in local history, the mortality rose to more than three times the average; and in 1682 to a still higher number.

The subsequent changes that have taken place in the Church hardly fall within the cognizance of an Archæological Society. The building was patched up and fitted for the purposes of worship; and probably is now nearly what it was at the time when history ceases to have anything to record; but I trust that more important changes are to take place hereafter, through the influence of that taste which the present Society is fostering in the city.

It is not to be wished that the nave of St. John's should be restored to its original dimensions, or that the services of our Church should be performed in a space where it would be difficult to see, and impossible to hear the officiating minister. A reasonable service like ours, requires less to gratify the eye, because it addresses itself to the heart; and only desires to use the senses, as subsidiary to the impressions to be made on the mind. But there is still much to be done, in order to remove that which is decidedly objectionable, and objectionable both as being injurious to the effect that ought to be produced by the fabric on the eye, as well as to the purposes of public worship. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the process of restoration which has been so happily exhibited in the churches of St. Mary and St. Peter may be extended to St. John's; and that it may be met by the same spirit of liberality and concession on the part of the parishioners. I name concession as well as liberality, because I know that in all Church improvements, as much depends on the readiness to give up what seem to be established rights, as on the readiness to give, in the common acceptation of the word. Many a man will give money, who

will not give up a fancy; and excellent schemes are sometimes marred through the obstinacy of some prejudiced proprietor. The happy union of these two species of liberality in the churches I have just alluded to, offer an example and a precedent which other parishes will do well to follow; and by following which, general good will be wonderfully promoted.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that in the course of a few years those heavy galleries, which exclude light and swallow up sound, which offer the appearance without the reality of accommodation, will be removed; and that the massive pillars, which support the roof, will be laid open from their base. In the same process of improvement the present pews may give way to open benches or sittings of a better form; the pulpit and reading desk may be so placed as no longer to obstruct the light from the eastern window; and the space at present unoccupied in the chancel may be made available for general accommodation.

Much may yet be done for the improvement of the interior; and it is desirable that those who enter St. John's should see it as it ought to be, if they cannot see it as it was. The recollections of Mr. Ashpitel's visit during the last congress of the British Archæological Association, and of his remarks upon the building, may have satisfied the inhabitants of Chester that it must be their interest to preserve a building in which that accomplished antiquarian found so much to admire.

COMMUNICATED BY G. ORMEROD, ESQ.

TRANSCRIPT OF A DEED IN THE POSSESSION OF A. J. KNAPP, ESQ.

THIS endenture, made the xxth day of ffebruary, In the xxiiiith yere of the reign of kyng henry theght witnessith that Dame Margerie Taillior, Prioresse of the house and Priory of our blessed lady within the Citie of Chestre and the Covent of the same place, by one holle assent and consent have dimised, graunted, and to ferme sett unto Richard Sneyde, Recorder of the said Citie, all that their void place and land with th' appurtenunces in the Northgate Strete of the said Citie, whereupon of late tyme was edified, bild, and set a mansion place called the bull, and also all and every their land, gardyns, and Orchards, with their appurtenunces, which nowe or at eny tyme be or were belongyng, liyng, or apperteynyng to the same named the bull gardyns and bull orchards, and the whiche nowe be in the severalle holdyng and occupacion of the said Richard Sneyde and Thomas Derby, dier / In lenght from the said Northgate Strete opon the Est partie unto an Orchard or gardyn place near the Crofte of William fframway, barbour, upon the west partie / and in breid betwene the lands of the fraternitie of Seynt Anne, Sir Thomas Smyth knyght and William Norres, Esquier, opon the North partie, and the lands of Thabbott and covent of the monasterye of Seynt Werburge in Chestre and the lands of the said Richard Sneyde and the gardyns belongyng to certen tenements and dwellyng houses in the Persons lane of the said Citie opon the south partie / And also the said Prioresse and covent of one like assent and consent have dimised and by these presents have graunted and to ferme have sett unto the Richard Sneyde a litell Orchard and small place of land liyng and beyng adjoyning unto the said bull Orchard at the west end of the same extendyng and stretchyng from the cornell of the said Bull Orchard on the North side unto a lane called the

Croft, betwene the lands and orchard of the said William fframway on the South partie, and the lands of the said William Norres on the North partie / To have and to hold all and everye the saide void place, gardyns and Orchards with their appurtenunces unto the said Richard Sneyde, his heires and assignes, from the fest of the Annunciacion of our lady next ensuyng the date of these presents unto the ende and time of twoo hundreth yeres next and inmediatly folowyng the said fest of our lady to be fully complete and ended / yeldyng and payng therefore to the said Prioresse and covent and to their successors yerely next after that the said Richard Sneyde can have and come to the possession and occupacion of all the premisses so beyng in the holdyng of the said Thomas Derby xv$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ at the daies and times usualle and payable within the said Citie by evyn porcions; And if it happe the said rent of fiftene shilyngs eight pens or eny parte thereof to be behind unpaid unto the said Prioresse and covent and theire successors at eny of the rent daies and times used in the said Citie that it ought to be paid at / Then it shall be lawfull unto the said Prioresse and hir successors to entre in all and every the said void place, lands, orchards and gardyns, and to distreyn for the same rent and arrerages so beyng not paid, and the same distresses to reteign unto such time as they shalbe fully and holly paid and contented of the same and every parcell thereof Due / and if it happe that the said rent of xv$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ or eny parte thereof shalbe unpaid unto the said Prioresse and covent or to theire successors by the space of one holl yere, and no sufficient distres can be founde within ne opon eny of the said lands, orchards and gardyns, that then it shalbe lawful for and to the said Prioresse and covent and to theire successors into all and every the same lands, orchards and gardyns and their appurtenunces to reentre and from thensforthe all and every the same to reteign and hold as in their former astate without eny claym, impedyment or lett of the said Richard Sneyd, his heires or assignes for ever / eny thyng, clause, or Article in these indenturs to the contrarie notwithstandyng. In witnes whereof as well the saide Prioresse and covent of one assent and consent their covent Seall as the said Richard Sneyde his Seall to these endenturs alternatly have sett. Yeven the daie and yere above saide.

At the foot is appended an impression of the seal* of the Prioress and Convent, in fair condition. It is in dark green wax, with *three impressions of the fingers*, deeply made on the reverse, and circumscribed as follows:—

"*S'coie Priorisse & Coventus M(.....) Marie Cestrie.*"

* For this seal see fig. 1 and 2, at page 148.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING DEMISE, BY G. ORMEROD, ESQ.

Sedbury Park, Chepstow, Dec. 16, 1851.

My Dear Sir,—As you have informed me that the Architectural Society of Chester would consider a copy of demise of lands in that city by the Prioress and Convent of St. Mary's to Richard Sneyd (Recorder at the time of the demise in 1533) acceptable, I send it with this letter. The original demise, dated Feb. 20, 24 Hen. viij., to which that seal is attached of which I previously sent an impression, is in the possession of A. J. Knapp, Esq. and has been kindly transcribed for me by Albert Way, Esq. The accompanying document is an exact copy of the transcript, but written in words at length instead of abbreviations.

The interest of the document is local, but it shews the occupation of the N.W. part of Chester in the time of Henry VIII. and adds another name to the list of Chester Prioresses.

On turning to Braun's Plan of Chester, executed in the time of Elizabeth, you will, at once, see the locality of the "Bull tenement" demised by this deed, at that period the mansion house of Recorder Sneyd, and described as having been "of late time edified." It would be close to the eastern end of the present King-street, which first appears in Hollar's later Plan, and would occupy the site of that ancient hostelry and its adjacent premises which afterwards bore the same name.

It had Northgate-street for its eastern boundary, lands of Chester Abbey and gardens belonging to houses in "Persons Lane" (now Princes-street) on the south, orchards on the west, and, between it and the City Walls, on the north, the premises belonging to *St. Anne's Fraternitye*, Sir Thomas Smyth and William Norres, Esquier.

The families of Sneyd of Keele, and Smyth of the Hough, are so closely connected with your civic annals, that notices of the Recorder of 1533, or of the Mayor of 1535, would be superfluous. William Norres, Esquire, also mentioned, can scarcely be doubted to have been any other than the gallant soldier who was restorer of Speke Hall, and was also closely connected with Chester as joint hereditary Serjeant of the Bridge Gate. In two years after the date of this charter he occurs as a knight, and as having married, to his second wife, Anne Seyton, second daughter of David Myddleton, who was Mayor of your city in 1523; and Leland mentions him as an occasional resident at the Earl of Oxford's seat at Blacon, near Chester.

This demise of 1533 adds to the list of ladies who presided over the Nunnery of St. Mary's the name of a Prioress previously unknown. Margerie Taillior neither occurs in Stone's list, from which, and Vernon's Lichfield collections, my own list was chiefly derived, nor in

Humfrey Wanley's autograph catalogue, written in his copy of Willis's Mitred Abbies which I subsequently acquired. Her place would be between Margaret Pasmyche and Elizabeth Grosvenor, the last Prioress. It is observable that two Nuns of similar surname, Alice *Tay*lor and Margaret *Tal*or occur among the surviving Nuns of this Priory, who received pensions in 1553.

The legend surrounding the Priory seal is added to the transcript of the demise. The design is not an uncommon one, and a seal very closely resembling it, that of the Collegiate Church of Slapton, in Devonshire, will be found in Oliver's Monasticon of Exeter Diocese.

Believe me to remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

GEO. ORMEROD.

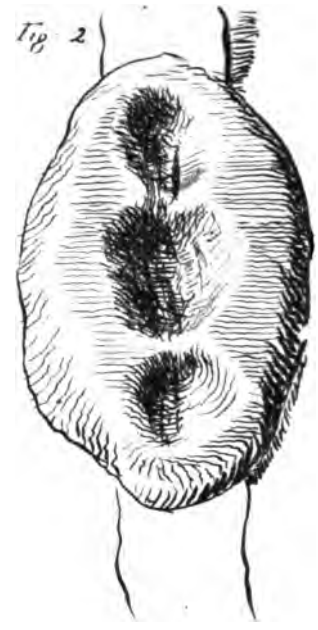
The Secretary of the Chester
Archæological Society.

Fig 1



Seal of St Mary's nunery Chester. in use at the dissolution (1537)

Fig 2



The Reverse

Shewing the impress of the Lady Abbess's fingers at the back.

Fig 3



An earlier type of the same seal; probably the original one of the 12th cent.

Fig 4



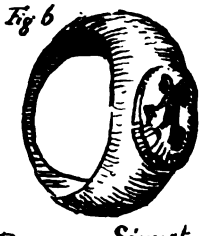
Saxon Seal of Ælfric.

Fig 5



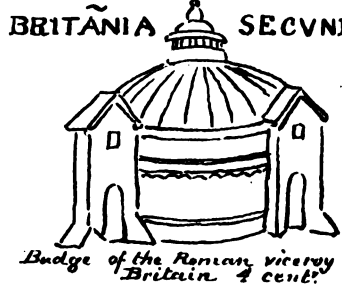
Egyptian Signet

Fig 6



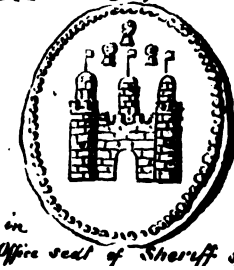
Roman Signet found at Chester. D. Hastings

Fig 8.



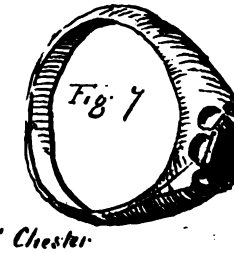
Badge of the Roman viceroy in Britain 4 cent.

Fig 9



Office seal of Sheriff of Chester

Fig 7



Medieval Signet found at Chester.

REMARKS

ON

The History of Seals, with Local Illustrations.

BY THE REV. W. H. MASSIE.

IT is for a practical object that I have been called upon to make some remarks on the history of "Seals." The Council have thought that a general view of the whole subject may assist those artists who have kindly offered their services in designing a common Seal for the Society. I cannot pretend, indeed, to add much to the stores of knowledge already possessed by advanced antiquaries; but I should rejoice in applying those stores to a distinct and useful point—the improvement of the present miserable and loose system of using such once-important instruments.

Whenever we find an *old* charter or deed with a seal in tolerable preservation, we have another link added to the chain of historic evidence, —it establishes original relations between public or private parties,—it elucidates the records of heraldry, it shews the state of art as it then was, and in other ways it serves to fill many a gap in local or even general chronicles, as we shall hereafter see, because of the precision in the ancient method of seals: whereas *now*, how is it? Who would think it worth while noticing the mass of devices, or care to add them to a collection? They tell no tale, and imply no meaning. Except in the most solemn instances we have nothing but disorder in their use: the seals of one office confounded with another,—privy seals and public seals impressed at random,—one person borrowing his neighbour's, and his neighbour's answering for all the world, if the world please,—individual officers adopting devices mistaken afterwards for the stamp of the office itself, or perhaps for the "coat of arms" of a county or city, or corporation, instead of the person's representing it,—and even, when regularity is aimed at, designs formed upon no clear principle, heraldry mixed with

allegory, fancy preferred to reason, or ancient symbols set aside for individual whim. In short, seals have long altogether lost their import. My eyes were first opened to this state of things by having a parchment of an authoritative nature returned from a public office, for want of a seal as well as signature, upon which some one affixed a wafer or a blotch of red wax, which I touched with my finger, saying, "this is my act and deed." Not having had much to do with such points, it struck me then as an absurdity to insist on an addition of evidence which evidently could be no evidence at all, of anything or to anybody, though I now perceive it to be the shadow of a most ancient custom, just as the "*forms*" of Convocation (though forms only) are the "dry bones" still waiting to be breathed on. The *Normans* REQUIRED the seal in addition to the signature, a point not *essential* with the Saxons, though occasionally used by them. But *then* the Mediæval Noble stuck his own tooth into the wax, "In witness of this sooth," "I seal with my fang tooth;"* or he put a bit of his own hair into it in token of his personal bequest, or left the impress of his own fingers deep on the back of the wax, when he placed them on it, saying, "My act and deed," or plucked some of the grass† itself as a first-fruit of the land which he conveyed, and so identified it with the substance of the seal, or endorsed it with his own signet, or badge, or other mark which could be mistaken for no one else's but his own, or even fastened a ring,‡ or knife, or pledge of some kind to the deed. So particular, indeed, were they (even from the classical era) that the seal was examined critically; and in after times, when every landowner used his seal, a fac-simile of most of the important ones was laid up with the registrars, often impressed on lead, in order to detect forgeries.

Now it is not that I would have all these funny things brought back,

* Flower's M.S. Visitation of Cheshire, has a good instance by William Rufus:—

"I, William, Kinge of Englande, give unto Masci all my righte, intereste, and tytle of the Hoppe and the Hoppe lande, from me and myne to him and his, with bounde and lymyte from heaven above to hell beneathe:—

To houlde of me and myne with bowe and arrowe,
When I come to shoot on Yarrowe;
And in witnesse of this soothe,
I have sealed with my wange toothe:
In presence of Maude and divers others."

† "*Scilicet quod contractibus agrariis stipula ista agrum integrum repræsentaret.*"

‡ Will. de Belmeis gave lands to St. Paul's, and directed that his gold ring, set with ruby, together with a seal, should be affixed to the charter for ever.

"Another forme is that of Aberricke de Veer, conteyninge ye donation of Hatfield, to ye which he affixed a short black-hafted knife, like to an old halfpenny whyttell, in steade of a seale."

any more than I would have all the funny things of Convocation restored; nor yet would I cure *either* evil by abolishing the empty form, but I would deprive them of their formality by making them a reality, so far as may be conducive to practical advantage. I would, while using the old practice, use it for the old *purpose*, and make it again of some historical and tangible value to posterity. The whole system of seals wants revising and reducing to a regular shape, and though quite incapable myself of carrying this out, yet I can so far perhaps speak of it, as to set other wheels in motion, and awaken some clever and skilful hand to adapt the machinery more accurately to its end. This is, in fact, one of the chief intentions of our Society, not only to accumulate examples, but to multiply agents, and awaken the zeal of many, in following up our bare suggestions, and bringing them to the test of use; and I shall be content to be found guilty of some blunders, or to repeat "trite things," so that I may help the real object one step forward.

I shall begin, then, with a brief summary of the history of seals, distinguishing between official and private, though an occasional intermixture can hardly be avoided.

The earliest form in which seals appear to have been used is "the signet ring," which was regarded as the most solemn of pledges: "Though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, were the signet on my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence."* The delivery of such a ring was itself as the act of conferring the highest offices of authority, just as the giving of the great seal to the Lord Chancellor makes him what he is to this day. Moses mentions this custom 1700 years before Christ, among the Egyptians: "Pharaoh took his ring off his hand and put it on Joseph's hand," when he gave him his commission as vicegerent over Egypt. In Persia likewise, King Ahasuerus, in transferring the post of chief authority, "took off his ring, which he had taken from Haman, and gave it unto Mordecai." What such rings were, we know from examples found, one of which I give (in fig. 5, p. 148) from the Journal of the Association. They seem to have been in form exactly similar to those which the Romans, and our own mediæval ancestors used, as we may perceive by comparing some discovered in excavations at Chester (fig. 6, 7) and elsewhere. The devices varied much, though some were symbolical, as Augustus is said to have appropriated the sphynx, in token of secrecy; other emperors the graving of a lituus, as being pontiffs,—and the Phœnicians often the beetle; the Egyptians one of their deities; the Pope, on his *anulus piscatoris*, a figure of St. Peter; but on more common signets, from the earliest Roman age, little images of Victory, Cupid, Mercury, Hope, and others found on the reverse of coins, have been cut in every

* Jeremiah xxii. 24.

shape. They were of a large and clumsy shape, worn on the fourth finger (Aul. Gel. x. 10,) consisting of a jewel set in iron, bronze, and afterwards in gold, but not of metal *only* until the time of Claudius (I believe). The object and manner of using them likewise, has scarcely varied since those ancient days, the impression being taken on some earthy substance, answering to our modern wax, and applied in token of authenticity. In Job we have the expression, "turned as clay to the seal;" and Herodotus (b. ii. c. 38) speaking of the selection of beasts for sacrifice by the Egyptians, says, that the examining priest attached a certificate to the horns of the unblemished bull, and then applied a preparation of earth, which received the impression of his *seal*. This seal, he adds, was so essential, that to sacrifice a beast without it, was a capital offence. Cicero, in his oration against Verres, describes a letter as sealed with "sealing earth," having an impression on it from a *seal-ring* (in Ver. iv. c. 9). The signet was still, in mediæval times, worn by abbots and bishops as an essential part of their ecclesiastical attire, to denote their being "*married to the Church*," the ring having always been regarded as a symbol of eternal fidelity (Plin. xxxiii. 4—7); and such are often found in the coffins of those old men; they are found also with Christian devices in the catacombs; nor has the signet-ring ever been entirely discontinued to the present day, when they are being more generally revived, and are coming into almost universal vogue.

So much for signets.

But seals on a larger scale, *official seals*, or devices on some kind of stamp, in attestation of conveyances or in token of authority attached to deeds, and accompanied with forms of signature, &c. are of almost equal antiquity, as we read in the 32nd chap. of Jeremiah, "Men shall buy fields for money and subscribe evidences, and seal them and take witnesses," &c. And again, in Nehemiah, "We make a covenant and *write* it, and our princes and priests seal unto it." The Roman dukes and governors of provinces had in their book of general orders a device, which was in Great Britain a prætorium, or castle, on a triangle, to represent the island, the probable original of most of such architectural badges (see page 148, fig. 8). It appears that this very ancient practice of confirming official signatures by seals has never entirely ceased abroad, though particular nations (our own among the number) had up to a certain time never adopted it, or had allowed it to fall into temporary disuse, as we shall presently find.*

* It is sometimes said that seals, as distinct from signet rings, did not appear till the ninth century; but by this must be meant, I suppose, their attachment to charters and deeds. It may be true that, in some such limited sense, the custom was renewed upon the Continent by Charlemagne, but the German dukes had used them before that time. The Roman potters, and every legion had its own *stamp* and badge, as

B. The phanix tower is so called because this comhouse used to meet there whose badge was the phanix set upon it a phanix.

Fig 1. Seal of a Chester Company

seal of Company of Painters, Glaziers, Embroiders & Stationers.

Fig 2.



Seal of the Guardian & Convent of Friars Minors, or Grey Friars of Chester. deed granting to Sailors & Merchants an island for repair of ships &c

The letters and boar are in relief: this sketch is full size.

Fig 3.

Fragment of a tile, found at Blue school 1852. It is just come up from 15 illustrated remains in wall at page 153



Fig 4.

Fig 5

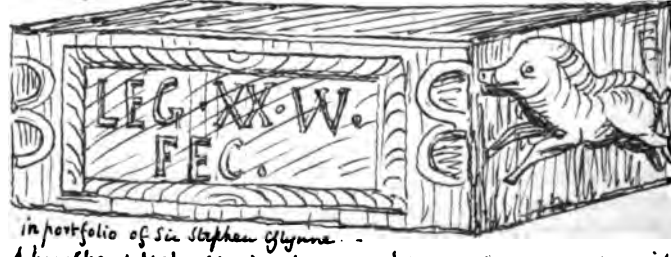


From the Roman Wall illustrated by Bruce p. 368.

The boar was the badge of the 20th Legion. as the next stone from the same work at page 241. more plainly



Fig 6



in portfolio of Sir Stephen Glynne.

4. This is from Pilchester sketch taken by Buck. The type corresponds very closely with Fig. 3. on a tile found at Blue school.

A boar (head & shoulders) as large as life was found under city walls last year (1851) by Mr Wigginer who gave it to Mr Hastings, & he gave it (I understand) to Mr Gardner. Each legion had its own Badge. —

For instance,—to pass on to the Saxon era,—while as a general rule our Saxon ancestors required no actual seal, yet the mark of the cross was a kind of substitute, and their cotemporaries on the Continent undoubtedly retained the custom. Nor are instances wanting to prove the occasional use of seals by our own rulers before the Norman Conquest, in charters of Edwin, Edgar, Offa, and others. A brass matrix of Ælfric, Earl of Mercia, was found near Winchester in 1832, of which I have an impression (drawn in p. 148, fig. 4); so that it is no proof of a spurious Saxon deed to allege the appendage of a seal in token of its falseness, which sometimes has been attempted. I do not dwell upon the well-known great seal of Edward the Confessor, because his habits were all Norman in reality. The simple fact, however, is, that the Norman law *required* the seal in some form to authenticate certain deeds (whence our own law unto this day); whereas the Saxons, while they sometimes introduced it, did not count it essential, and in general did not use it. Their method was to place opposite to their names (written by a clerk if not by themselves) their cross, in ink or red or gold, since so few were able to write their own names. Selden quotes the following form of signature by Caedwalla, a Saxon king, at the end of one of the charters:—"*Propriâ manu pro ignorantiâ literarum signum sanctæ crucis expressi et subscripsi;*" and Mr. Roach Smith, in his interesting account of Reculver, has given a full copy of a Saxon charter, with all the signatures at the end, Dunstan acting as clerk, thus—

+ "I, Eadred, king by the protection of Divine grace, chief ruler of Albion, have confirmed this charter with the sign of the holy cross."

+ "I, Ælfric, Bishop (constipulator),* concurring in this grant, have made the sign of the cross."

+ "I, Eadgive, mother of the aforesaid king, with a mind rejoicing in Christ, have humbly signed this before-mentioned gift, granted in the hope of redemption, with the corroboration of the sign of salvation."

+ "I, Dunstan, unworthy abbot, at the command of Eadred the king, have composed this charter of inheritance, my lord the king dictating, and have written it throughout with my own hand."

the boar was the badge of the 20th legion at Chester; and such stamps we find constantly on tiles and jars, having been impressed on the wet clay before baking. What are these but seals? We know, too, how the stone at the mouth of our Lord's sepulchre was sealed with the seal of authenticity, "so making it sure." The Lacedemonians are said to have used worm-eaten wood for the purpose, because the capricious holes in it could not be imitated,—they were called σφραγιδια θριπηδεστα so that I imagine "the practice has never entirely ceased from the remotest ages."

* Livery of Seisin, "*Veteres quando sibi aliquid promittebant, stipulam tenentes frangebant, quam iterum jungentes et metientes, sponsionem agnoscebant, quam stipulam recipere, erat argumentum assentientis, scil. quòd contractibus agrariis stipula ista agrum istum repræsentaret.*" (Quoted by R. Smith.)

I have given these few, out of a long list of names, to shew the spirit in which the sign of the cross was added. It might appear at first sight as if a mark so easily imitated could be no security or evidence, since one cross is like another; but I question whether any seal or signature could have been equally authentic in those early times. The virtue of the sign lay in the emblematic import of the cross, which made it sacred in the Court of Conscience. To violate such a sign would be an act, not of simple forgery, but of sacrilege, at once drawing upon the head of the violator the wrath of the Lamb, which was often expressed in an imprecatory clause of the deed, as in the above charter of Reculver:—"If any man shall infringe this grant, or appropriate a single foot of this donation from the Church, unless he expiate his enormous crime by penitence, shall incur the guilt of sacrilege, and shall be damned for ever by the Lord Jesus Christ, without hope of redemption. This grant is written in the year of our Lord's incarnation DCCCCXLIX." A similar imprecatory clause occurs in a confirmation of the *Norman* grant to St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester:—"*Si quis igitur patris nostri predicti Beati Anselmi confirmationem aut nostram ausu temerario infestare aut irritare attentaverit Dei et nostræ subjaceant maledictioni.*" A charter of the second Randle, Earl of Chester, is attested by all the parties present in precisely the same form, with the sign of the cross after their names, shewing how the habit was preserved among the Normans.* And this sacred force of the cross as a mark was still continued upon *seals* also, after their general introduction, by engraving the sacred monogram for a device, or by adding it as a counterseal, which was, I believe, sometimes stamped with a die on the back of the principal seal; and, in fact, the very same expressive practice has never been interrupted, as may be seen in one-half of the attestations by witnesses in our marriage registers. The name is entered first by the clerk, "Betty Martin, her mark," and then Betty Martin puts her own mark, which, without any suggestion or rule to that effect, is invariably a *cross*, and which, though easily imitated in fact, yet is still instinctively retained as inviolable, now that the original

* *Notum sit me concessisse, quandò feci transferri corpus Hugonis Comitis, mei avunculi, a cœmeterio in capitulum, ut in die mortis meæ Darem simul cum corpore meo Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Werburgæ, Uptunam, solutam et quietam ab omni re,*" &c. *Et ut igitur sic sint omnia, sicut prædictum est, libera, confirmamus ea, hinc sanctæ crucis signo* + (First, or on one hand, with the sign of the sacred cross). *Hinc meo sigillo* (Secondly, or on the other hand, with my seal). *Hinc horum virorum testimonio* (Thirdly, with the witness of these persons) *scilicet Willelmi Meschini, &c. Signum Willelmi Meschini* + *Signum Robert de Masci* + &c. &c. The seal was duly affixed in a formal way "*coram paribus,*" and often in the Baronial or other Court assembled. "*Teste meipso*" was used first by Royalty by Richard First, though not common till the fifteenth century; nor was the clause "*his testibus*" entirely disused till Henry VIII. since which time witnesses have subscribed or marked their own names.

reason for that special form is hardly noticed. This is a remarkable perpetuation of a national custom from our Saxon forefathers for at least a thousand years. And this brings us to the Norman period.

It is from the Normans we derive the custom of *requiring* seals to grants and charters. They brought the rule from France, where it had been used without much intermission, the seals being there for the most part fixed on the right hand of the deed itself, and not pendant with labels as they afterwards came to be; nor was any signature beyond the seal required by them at all, except the cross which still continued to be used though not *essentially*. Edward the Confessor's charter is witnessed by his seal alone.* Even in England this habit of *attaching* seals to the parchment itself was not unknown, the great seal being laid on the left side of a charter granted by Henry I. to Anselm; so that, in fact, this point can no more be relied on as an *infallible* test of authenticity, or distinction between Norman and Saxon, than the use of seals themselves, however *generally* characteristic they may be of their origin and date. But there are, doubtless, certain peculiarities of detail in the use of seals by which forgeries may be, and often *have* been detected, as in the form of letters, the pretence of heraldic bearings, or shape of a seal before a certain age, and so on. Alas! the Monks were too little scrupulous in concocting charters, in order to maintain special exemptions and convenient privileges, as if derived from Joseph of Arimathea, or any other patron equally remote.† Yet, these impostures could hardly be proof against the acumen of genuine archæologists. Cicero's skill in this respect (for he was one of the archæologicals) is well known. In one of his eloquent orations, he disproves the authenticity of a written testimony, which professed to come from Asia, by shewing the nature of the substance which composed the seal; as the Asiatics (he said) would have used a bituminous earth, and not the sort of wax wherewith the letters had been sealed, so proving their Latin origin. The fact is, no trade requires so much wit as roguery, for I question if ever such a creature was known, as a rogue beyond detection. It is easy for such smatterers as myself to be taken in; but genuine antiquarians will sift out error in some minute feature, which none of *us* might notice. I shall, however, presently adduce instances of mistakes made in assigning seals, where no fraud was meant, there being little dependence in general on seals, unless attached to, or confirmed by ancient deeds.

* The seal alone, without necessity for signature of name, continued to be law until 29th Charles II. c. 3, expressly directed the signing as well as sealing in all grants of land and many other deeds. Seals are said to have been first appended by labels in time of Louis VI.

† See Stillingfleet's orig. Brit.

The first seals in this country were probably limited to the chief ruler of a kingdom or province, as the source of all authority within it, on the same principle as the image and superscription upon money.* The great seal displayed the king sitting on his throne, with a sceptre in his hand. (See the seal of Edward the Confessor.) The letters round it specified the title and name of the individual who bore it. The counterseal on the back was at first a repetition of the same device, the object probably being (as on the reverse of coins) only to secure compactness, &c. by impression between two stamps. When, however, William the Conqueror assumed the throne, he seems to have retained his own peculiar seal as "Dux Normannorum,"† Duke of Normandy, viz. a warrior on horseback, and used it for a counterseal, to identify the individual, while he asserted his right to the Crown and regal authority in England by adhering to the Confessor's device (for his chief or obverse seal) of a sceptred monarch on his throne. This custom has never been interrupted by our sovereigns from that day to this; and as the Norman dukes had used the armed Eques for the badge of rank upon their seals, so, whenever any noble in this country had subordinate dominion, as vicegerent of the monarch, given to him by the Conqueror, that deputed authority was represented by an official seal, which mostly bore (like the Dukes of Normandy) a warrior on horseback; while on the reverse they used for a counterseal some device of their own to distinguish the person in possession of the dignity. These devices on the reverse were at first quite optional,—the sacred monogram, or a fancy badge, or a Roman antique, or anything else they pleased, surrounded by a legend expressive of the owner's name and title, until, as heraldry prevailed, regular escutcheons were almost universally substituted. The similarity of the mounted figure, and uniformity of plan, without reference to family, disposes me to think that the idea was borrowed from the 6th chapter of Revelations—"And when he had opened the second seal, I saw and beheld a white horse, and he that sat on it had a bow," &c. We know that they were not very nice in their application of Scripture, and might regard such symbols as only the more inviolate from their sacred import. Whether the saint so invariably appearing on ecclesiastical seals under an arch at the foot of the chief figure meant to represent the faithful upon earth praying for the soul of the founder in heaven, or likewise alluded to the same chapter in Revelations—"And when he had opened

* Hence to forge the King's Seal is an act of high treason. Letters patent are from the King to all his subjects open, with seal appendant. "*Litteræ clausæ*," or clause rolls, are sealed up. The Royal sign manual, superscribed in patents, is the warrant to the Secretary of State to affix the "Privy Seal," which is the warrant to the Chancellor for "The Great Seal;" but some grants have only the sign manual.

† The dukes of Normandy had used seals long before. There are examples from 1015, A.D. a warrior on horse or on foot, as the case might be.

p. 6. These seals are well known & are only drawn rudely here in order to illustrate the subject of the lecture. to face p. 156.

Fig. 1. Seal of Edward the Confessor



Face on the counter-seal of Edw. Confessor



The Counter-seal is as nearly the same as the obverse as poss-ible on Edw.'s seal: but with-out crown & with fresoil for the dove & globe for sword.

4. MD. SANDFORD in his Genl. of Kings of England gives the inscriptions complete on william's seal, one side,

* HOC NORMANNORVM willelmus rosa Patronum.

on the other side

Fig 4

* Hoc Anglis Regem dignu fateanis eundem.

He translates in verse-

3. This sign doth William Normans patron shew:
2 By this the English him their King do know...



William 1st conqueror

Fig. 2.



Fig 3 counter-seal of William Conq.

Fig. 2. 3. Obverse & Reverse of Seal of William The Conqueror the first as King of England = the second as Duke of Normandy vid supra NB



Fig. 5 Rev. or counter-seal of RANDLE GERNON EARL or Comit Palatine of Chester a Roman Antique

The matrix of this seal was found at St Edmondsbury in 1774. His uncle was Abbot there. —

Fig. 6 seal of Randle Gernon Earl of Chester A D 1131 — 1151



Ob-verse or Chief seal.

the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain," &c. I do not know; but the very method of folding the deed of grant to abbies, by our earliest Norman ancestors, seems to justify the foregoing notion; for the confirmation charter to St. Werburgh's, Chester, about 1130, recapitulating the original of Hugh Lupus, is not a roll, but folded in the form of a book, or rather as a map, in compartments side by side, each page having had its own distinct seal, as if opened in succession. (See page 158 fig. 1.) The deed is described in Appendix. The only seal still remaining is in green wax, with a mounted horseman as usual. The mounted figure is still the *counter*-seal of our Sovereign, as it continues to be the *principal* seal of the earldom, though I have no example of the latter to adduce later than Charles II.* And here let me say what a pity it is that our corporate seals, and especially our early Norman seals attached to civic charters, have not been more carefully preserved. Let us hope that steps will be taken to secure such as yet remain from turning to dust within their bags, at least until exact drawings have been made. What an absurdity, too, the present use of a fragile wax under the great seal of England is! Even if it does not crack immediately to pieces, it melts within its tin case, if kept in a place warm enough to save the parchment itself from damp: and why so huge and cumbrous? How poor and feeble the impression! Before the discovery of gum lac, about 1550, the substance used was sometimes a bituminous earth, or a resinous mastic, and afterwards bees'-wax, mixed with various pigments, which gave it an adhesive toughness, so that one can to this day see the wrinkles of the lady abbess' finger, as impressed four centuries ago (fig. 2, p. 48). Green is said by some to have been used especially in grants and charters. But I find no regularity on this point; though, if any could be certified, it might greatly assist research: white was common—yellow prevailed at one time—Charles V. used blue (unique)—green was most usual with the Western emperors—and also green, with yellow border, in the 14th century; but red wax in the main was as general as any, probably on the same account as the making the mark of the cross in the colour of blood. Gold and silver have also been used instead of wax in the highest cases (imperial especially); and every one knows that lead is the common mark of a Pope's bull, so called from the "*bulla*" attached;† yet it is a mistake to suppose that lead was invariably limited to these. Mr. Dawes has named to me sundry examples; and I have somewhere seen quoted an expression in a deed of Charlemagne, "*Et subter plumbum sigillari jussimus.*" It was not till the 16th century that the present fashion came in of stamping paper laid on wax, and in 1624 on wafers. As to the matrices, I am not

* See Liverpool Historic Society's Journal, vol. 2, page 18.

† Papal seals were of three kinds:—*The Anulus Piscatorius*, in red wax; *The Bulla*, in lead; and *The "Signum,"* in consistorial bulls. Seals with two swords were usual in Ecclesiastical citations.

aware of any rule; they were sometimes of bituminous stone, or clay, set in a heavy weight of lead, sometimes of pewter, brass, or silver, or a jewel set in gold. Specimens of every sort are found from the earliest date.

But now, after this long digression, I return to the subject where I left it. I had shewn how we owe the general law of sealing grants and charters to the Normans, and how the example of the great counter seal of William, as Dux Normannorum, passed into the use of a similar equestrian type by the Vicegerents of the King, and Counts Palatine of England, a practice still continuing. The archbishops and abbots used an official seal of their see or abbey, not indeed equestrian, but of a more ecclesiastical character, as their patron saint, their abbey, or the enthroned abbot himself. Presently, as time advanced, the increase of subordinate offices, or of official business, introduced a corresponding multitude of seals, both in Church and State, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter. But I had also shewn that each of those nobles adopted a "privy seal" of his own, almost *ad libitum*. These are quite distinct from the former, and are in fact distinct also from the *counter* seal, which rather might be called "the reverse," being only another stamp on the back of the "obverse" or chief seal, made by the same press at the same time, perhaps for compactness, though applied also to other ends. The "privy seal" I would rather regard as a distinct and more personal instrument, adding the individual's own confirmation of the public seal, or authorising its application. It is so that the writ of privy seal, which seal is held by the Secretary of State (I speak under correction) still intimates the will of the Sovereign to the Lord Chancellor, in order to his application of the great seal. This privy seal or *sigillum secreti* (as distinct from the counterseal, or mere reverse) was afterwards in common use, as we now add our endorsement to secure a cheque or a bill, being stamped either at the back or on a separate wax. The practice was gradually extended to persons of rank in the 12th century, and thence to the landed gentry who had neither rank nor title, and so became as universal as we find it now. The advance towards heraldry may be traced better perhaps through such private seals than in any other way. First, they were a tooth-mark, or a monogram of Christ, or an antique, or a badge of office, with a legend round giving the name. The badge, both national and personal, was long in use before heraldry, that is, before the assignment of certain bearings to families and their heirs, as such. The *lion* was a badge before it was a bearing. Hugh Lupus might possibly have had a wolf on his shield or his seal, without having a coat of arms; and the white horse of Kent was long on the Saxon coins. Badges were known to Homer's heroes; and Œschylus describes mottoes and devices on the shields at Thebes. They appear on the armour of Carausius in his coins, and on that of the Norman knights in the Bayeux tapestry;

To face page 158

Confirmation by Randle Gernons (1132) of the grants to St Werburgh's Abbey, Chester; recapitulating the original charter of Hugh Lupus: from the muniments of Lord Westminster. The only seal remaining is one in green wax drawn in Fig 2.-



Fig 1. see Mr Planché's remarks in Archæological Association journal of July 1860

Fig 2.



no device appears upon the shield, nor is it clear to whom the seal may be assigned

3. Seal of King John as Earl of Morton where the lions of England appear on the shield as an Heraldic bearing.

Fig 3



about 1196 or

Scene

It is copied from a fragment in the city muniments of Chester, nearly gone

Counter. Fig 4.



Seal of John Antigue

Chester city records

Fig 5. another antique privy counter seal of Hugh Kevelioc 1162

5



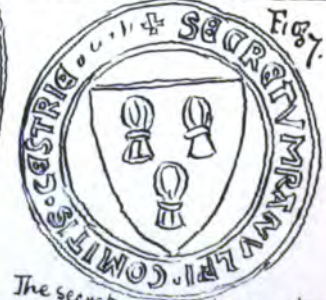
Ormerod reads the first line thus - Qüis cui did mandet Præsens mea cartula pandet & says that the next line is the same in Norman French.

Fig 6. the seal of Randle Blondeville Earl of Chester 1180 to 1232



This is the first appearance of the garb as a badge or bearing of the Earls of Chester. In allusion to his name Blondeville - White or wheat. I.e. white & Whitley have the wheatsheaf

Fig 7.



The secretum or privy counter-Seal of Randle Blondeville, an early & clear example of the Heraldic privy seal, afterwards so universal.

to face p. 159

This plate illustrates the progress to heraldic devices upon seals. p. 189

Fig. 1
Guthlac de Riblia.



The matrix of this seal is of earthy stone & was dug up in excavating for a building — I had it from a labourer but it is not verified by any deed but well illustrates the text

Fig. 2.



2 Norman Shields on the Bayeux tapestry

Shewing the form of kite and the device of a cross made by the bands only.

Fig. 3.
or Henry I. 1150

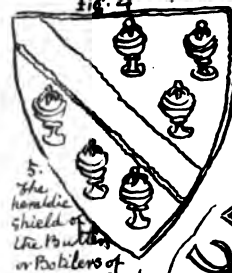


on a deed of Hen. I.'s reign in Mrs Lancaster's possession. Walter Pincerna present being Bishop of Chester

Observe the badge of office in Pincerna's hand, being afterwards the covered cup in the Butler's

Fig. 3

Fig. 4



5. The heraldic shield of the Butlers or Botilers of Bewsey. Stapleton on the tomb of Robert Curthorse at Gloucester & at Warrington.

Coat of Arms, whence also the Messies of Rixton derived it by connexion: — which appears on a pew in Warrington Church. The Seal of Hen. I is added to shew the style of letter by the flowers on each side.

Fig 5 Hen I.



Fig. 6



Seal of Willm de Romare in old city library. The deed to which it is appended is witnessed by Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, who died 1137, a very early coat of arms indeed!

Seal of Willm de Romare — presented to a deed of which a fac-simile is given in a MS. of Hugh Lupus Pedigree

Fig. 7. is the seal of Willm de Filgeriis on a deed of Chester with Randle 3rd Earl of Chester dated 1200 given to Planché in Archæologia 1857 Filgeriis Burgoyne's sight-fils Fern. hence the device of fern.

Fig. 7.



but query?

but these, though forerunners of, are not to be confounded with heraldic bearings. A good instance of the transition is given in fig. 1 to 4, p. 159, from seals in my possession. The first, of Guthlac de Riblie, is the plain monogram of Christ and nothing more, answering in import to the mark of the cross in writing, before alluded to. The second shews the *badge* of Pincerna, or Botiler, in Henry the First's time, or just before, where you see an officer holding up the covered cup in token of his post, as hereditary *butler*, or cupbearer, to the Earls Palatine; and thirdly, I have given the escutcheon of the same family, carrying the identical covered cup into the heraldic field, after the introduction of that science, which is almost proven to have taken place very soon after the date of the second seal in Henry the First's reign, 1150, or thereabouts. Thus we trace the transition from the simple cross to the badge, and from the badge to the heraldic bearing.

The forming of seals, at the close of the 12th century, upon the rules of heraldry (indicated by the lions in Richard's seal, and also on the seal of John, as Earl of Moreton), made the adoption of such distinctive marks for privy signets obvious, and gradually multiplied them into more vulgar use. At first only grandees sported them; but presently every armiger had his own device cut upon his ring or on a stamp with his name and title round it. When the Royal arms quartered the lilies of France, many of the gentry of Norman extraction, or of prowess in the French war, adopted the simple *fleur de lys* in the same spirit; and by degrees even persons without pretence to arms began to add their optional device, as "The seal of such a one, "pigdriver," with a "boar" engraved within. Badges, in allusion to the sound of the *name*, were most common. Baines, in his history of Lancashire quotes from the Harl, MSS. (No. 6079, p. 109) an account of this gradual extension:—"First, y^e^ Kinge onlye, and a few other of the nobilitye besides him—then noblemen and none inferior, as seen in the historye of Battel Abbeye, where Richard Lacye, Chief Justice of England (temp. Henry II.) blames a mean subject for that he used a private seale, whereas that pertayned (as he said) to y^e^ Kinges and their nobilitye only. At this time alsoe (as John Roper noteth) theye used to engrave in theyre seals theire own picktures and counterfaites, covered with a long coat over their armour. After this gentlemen of the better sort tooke up the fashion and engraved their several coates and shieldes of armes. At length, about the time of Edward III. seales became very common, not onlye of armes, but signets of their own device." (See p. 158, fig. 6, for devices in allusion to the name.)

It may be remarked here, that from the earliest ages seals of a symbolical character had been used by ecclesiastics and by Christians. "Let our signets," says Clemens Alexandrinus, in the third century, "be a dove, or a fish, or heavenward-sailing ship;" and still, after the introduction

of heraldry, the private seals of Rectors, Chaplains, and other Clergy, seldom bore any coat, but rather a sacred emblem, as the lily or *fleur de lys* symbol of the virgin, the various monograms of Christ, the pelican or eagle and young, or "Agnus Dei," a chalice, the cross *fleuré* in several patterns, patron saints, or simply the initials of their Christian names. There was good meaning in this abnegation of worldly ties and rights of inheritance, in favour of their ecclesiastical relationship, which, though in the letter found vain by past experience, it would be well for us to follow in the *spirit*.* Sometimes both laity and clergy had a motto round the seal instead of the title of the owner, as "*Frange, lege, tege*," or "*Fracta lege—tecta tege*," or "*lecta tege*:" "Break, read, and keep secret what you read;" and other poesies without end. The crest in the centre, with a double inscription round, viz. the motto on one rim, and the address on another, is rich, though simple, in effect. The first Randle, Earl of Chester, has a double motto in French and Latin, round an oval antique, upon his privy seal (page 158, fig. 5).

And this reminds me to say a few words on the shape of seals.

The classical form was generally oval, and was often continued and followed by the early mediævals, who loved to shew their estimation for ancient art by setting such relics in gold or other metal, good Roman coins being also sometimes so used. The Monks of Durham had picked up a fine classical head of a Jupiter tonans cut on an oval gem, and adopted it as their seal, the head being assigned by them to St. Oswald. The round was, however, the most common Norman shape, being well adapted to admit men on horseback, kings on thrones, and architectural types, which were so general in the 12th century. Then came the *vesica*, or pointed oval, at first peculiar to ecclesiastical devices, it being a feature of Early English character, and just large enough to allow the figure of a virgin and child, or a saint erect with halo round them. (Figs. 1 and 3, page 48.) The earliest instance of this shape is the seal of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1139. Afterwards all ladies of title used them,

* Of course when the Clergy were permitted by law to have their wife and family, like other people, which has proved to be more advisable in the main, all the contingencies of such connexions would follow, such as the rights and symbols of inheritance. How general the rule was, however, in Norman times, appears from the fact that Hugh Lupus had other sons besides Richard, who died, and that they would naturally have succeeded to the Palatinate dominions; but the only survivor of them, being Abbot of St. Edmondsbury, could not inherit the earldom, which passed accordingly to his nephew, Ralph Meschines. I believe that the first privy seal of any kind used by ecclesiastics (as distinct from the common seal of their community) was about 1128, A.D. Permission to use them was given by special license by the Pope; and, in later times, *prior to the Reformation*, we find many exceptions to the more general practice above alluded to, and I have given instances in the plates of heraldic seals used by ecclesiastics. (Pl. at p. 160, fig. 12. 18, 19.)

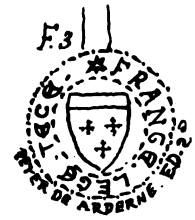
Examples of private seals chiefly. - to face page 160.



Fig 1.



F.2.



F.3



F.4

This is another plain allusion & Rebus confirming the views before taken of the equestrian seals.

Badges & arms from the name



E.5

John le Crowton
Chaplain 1392.



F.6.



F.7.



8. This is also only another form of cross fourchée.

Crosses in various forms not to be mistaken for coats of arms.



F 9

These below are mostly privy Seals of Ecclesiastics, not heraldicem



F.10

Mater Dei Memento mei



F.11. F.12.



Fig 13.

St. William de Broadbrook.



Fig 14

2 Chaplains The Bache



Fig 15.

Seal of Roger Davenport Rector of Ashurstlow 1411.



Fig 16



F.17.



Fig. 18

Nicholas Scott chaplain.



Fig 19

These 2 are the seal and counter s.l of St John of Jerusalem hospitle or the seal endorsed by a private seal of the prior which has a full heraldic Device



Fig 20.

The obverse seal is The head of John the Baptist in a charger.

William de Miskes Rector of Tarporley.

It is in green wax appended to an original deed in Mr Lancaster profession granting land in Utkil se Bavable "Sigillum communie apponi" &c. William de Handley - prior.

UB. Almost all the above private seals are rude sketches of originals among deeds of Sir Philip Egerton, of Oulton park.



24 27

Plate in illustration of the pointed oval or Vesica. — to face page 161.

Fig 1.



Vesica piscis on a tile as above. In the catacombs a fish often occurs with the word ΙΧΘΥΣ A Christian symbol being the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ Jesus Christ Son of God the Saviour.

Fig 2.



of Vale Royal from Albert Way.

Fig 3.



Sigillum Hawisie Domine de Keveoloc. Edwd 2.d

Called Hawise Gadarn. Heiress of Powys. Found at Oswestry by Mr Penson Architect

Fig 4.



Seal of the White Friars or Carmelite Herm of Chester From Mr Marsh.

Fig 6.



These two seal & counter seal of husband & wife are given to shew how the form is meant to indicate the sex, the device being alike in both a flowered cross

Fig 7.

Seal of the Borough of Liverpool For full particulars of this see the Liverpool Historical Society's Journal.



It is given here as an example of a civic seal in Vesica form. The seal of Richard is given as an early instance of the appearance of the moon by star or sun.

Fig 8.



2 great seal of Richard the 1st — 1st place of the one lost in Cordelia

Fig 9.



Reverse of Richard the first's 2 seal. Shewing the first appearance of 3 lions of England on shield. N in the mask a lion also, print.

Fig 10



This figure shews how the vesica is filled with a figure and a child for the Virgin and Child. Whence the legend here for centuries.

Vesica and Virgin. Cly

Compare the first seal of St Mary's Nunnery page 162. Fig. 3

(fig. 1 to 10, p. 161,) whence the Widow's Lozenge still; and so they became less exclusively ecclesiastical, and were used by men also. I could wish that such distinctions had not been lost sight of; and, indeed, it must be plain from the foregoing observations, what a convenience it would be, were seals, as a sort of art, not only restored to former order, but brought even to a more regular system than ever, so as to make these instruments historically expressive as once they were, and also so methodical as to enable any jeweller to grave them correctly for any object with little trouble or danger of mistake, and any person to interpret them at once. At present engravers work as if they knew nothing about their business; things not essential are made much of, while the device or charge upon the shield is so feeble that it melts into a blank, from the warmth of the wax itself, the instant the mould is taken up. In short, in *everything*, and not in seals only, we want the essentials to be made more of, and the non-essentials to be made less of, if we would become Englishmen again.

But—having thus given a general account of official and private seals—I shall return to the former, in order to elicit some few principles of general application. I would put the question, whether the present Prince of Wales possesses a specific seal as Earl of Chester, framed on the like plan as his predecessors? Perhaps since the abolition of the Palatinate Courts, there is no document possible which could require to pass under the seal of the Earldom as distinct from that of the Crown?* How is this? Do the yeomanry commissions issue from our Earl?† or does any other license? The Palatine seal-keeper's office is gone; yet, at all events, by way of illustration, I would point out what the seal of the Earl would be. It would have the equestrian obverse and heraldic reverse, the latter combining the arms of the county (three sheaves) on the sinister half, and the royal arms on the dexter half, with the usual supporters and coronet of the Prince, whose name and title as Earl of Chester would be written on the legend round. I give (in fig. 1, at p. 162) an example from a charter of Prince Edward to the cordwainers of Chester. A more perfect one of Queen Elizabeth, on the same plan exactly, on both sides, is to be seen among the county records. But we must not confound the bearings on such a seal with those of the county itself. This has been a fruitful source of error, mistaking the device of the individual in temporary possession of an office for that of the office itself. The many badges and supports of swans, dragons, stags, bulls and boar,

* Formerly the King's license might not come into the county of Chester or Lancaster, but under the seal of the Palatinate.

† I perceive that the Militia Commissions have only the private seal of the Lord Lieutenant attached.

with single or more feathers, fleur de lys, or roses, in the background, may vary, and have varied, as the Prince himself, while the abstract arms of the palatinate have always been, since the time of their first appearance on the seal of Randal Blondeville, three garbs gold on an azure field. (Fig. 7, p. 158.) In the *county*, the sword, however suitably introduced, is, I imagine, only an optional badge,* the crest itself (as distinct from the personal coronet,) being really a garb also, according to the following authoritative record in the "MSS. of Flower Norroy King of Arms, and with him Robert Glover, Somersett herald, his marshall." At page 31, he says, "The booke out of which these blazons following were taken was bought of the widdow of Marche King of Armes, by Garter Roy d'armes des Anglois, An° 6th, H. VI. This booke is of parchment, and is in the hands of Robert Cooke, *alias* Clarencieux King of Armes—Anno Dni. 1583."

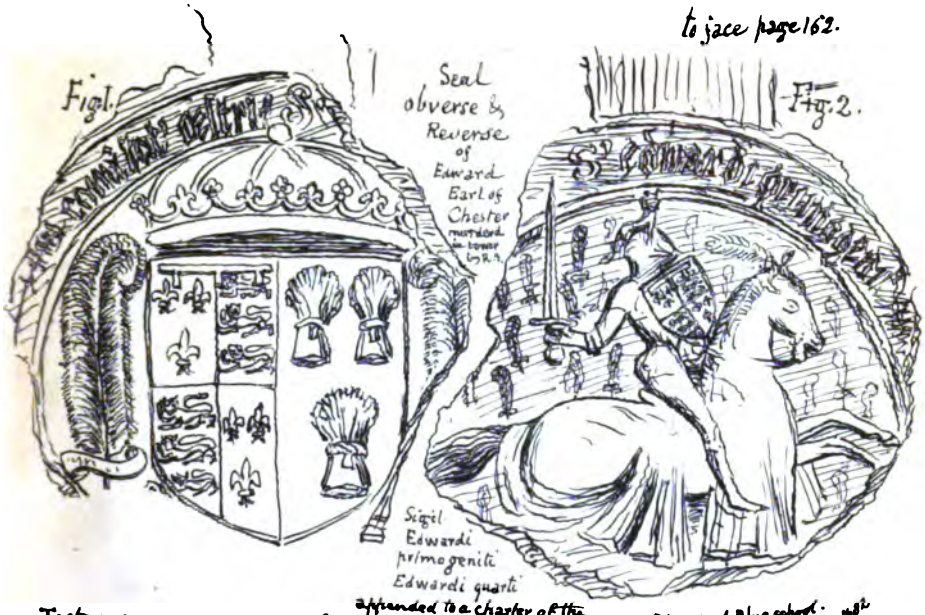
Then follows a list of blazons, the first being as follows: †—"*Le Counte de Chester port d'azure trois garbes d'or band de gules et sur son healme une garbe.*" (See fig. 1, p. 163.)

About the same time also the County of the City of Chester (being a county in itself), had received a special grant of arms from Elizabeth, or rather those which had been adopted in Edward the Third's reign and granted by Richard the Second, were confirmed and defined by the College of Heralds to be the three lions of England dimidiated with the three garbs of Chester, supported by a lion on one side and a wolf on the other, with a sword and strap for crest, the motto being, *Antiqui colant antiquum dierum*—"Let the ancient people worship the 'Ancient of Days,' or the Father of all antiquity." (Fig. 12, page 166.) And this, or rather the shield itself alone, would form a most suitable counterseal to the great seal of the Corporation. The above comparison will, however, shew how the city seal would differ from that of the earldom, the three garbs in the latter not being dimidiated with the three lions of England, but impaled, *i.e.* placed entire, side by side with those of the existing Earl or Prince of Wales, under his appropriate coronet, while

* Sir E. Cust quotes—"At the Coronation of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I. it is stated, '*Comite Cestrie gladium Sancti Edwardi qui Curteyn dicitur ante Regem bajulante in Signum quòd Comes est Palatinus.*'"—Mat. Par. It is well known that he bore the sword in token of the terms of grant from William the Conqueror, that the Count should hold his palatinate by the sword as truly as the King held England by his Crown, "*jure et dignitate gladii.*"

† The earliest roll of arms (Henry III. 1240, A.D.) gives "*d' azur à trois garbes a'or,*" as the coat of the *earldom* of Chester; and in the roll of arms of Edward II. 1308—14, occurs "*Le Conte de Cestre,*" to whom "*de azure à trois garbes de or,*" is attributed.—Sir E. Cust.

to face page 162.



appended to a charter of the Cordwainers of Chester. lent to me by Mr Edwards of Blue school. 1882

Teste meipso apud Castr' vicesimo die januarii anno regni dñi patris nostri vicesimo secundo.

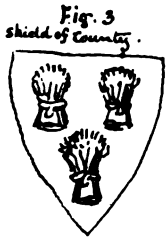
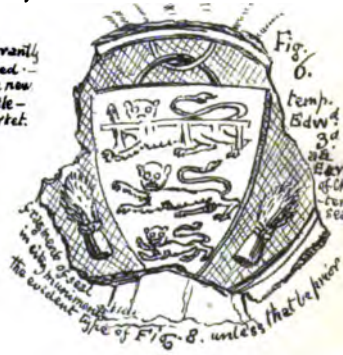

Fig. 3
shield of country.


Fig. 4.
Shield of City


Fig. 5.
False shield, still ignorantly used. see new Cattle-market.


Fig. 6.
temp. Edw.d 3d
Earl of Ches. Clerk's seal.
Impression of seal in Library intermediate in date between the evidently false of Fig. 8. unless that be prior

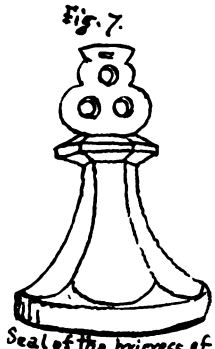

Fig. 7.
Seal of the princess of Ivanhoe. 15th cent. an example of a common form of matrix.



Fig 8.
Seal belonging (now?) to Mr Brester Probably the original secretum of the Mayor as it seems to express authority derived from the Royal Earl. I think it earlier than 6.


Fig. 9.
Matrix of fig. 8. in silver. full size: lent to me by Mr E. Parry.
The ✠ is to mark the head of the seal, corresponding to the words on face
I can see no token but of genuineness in the seal, though it has been doubted.


Fig. 10.
10. is the back of silver matrix of the Powys seal, shewing the loop by which it was suspended to the wrist or breast. see loops fig. 8.


Fig. 11.
Ecce agnus Dei.
a common device mostly of rude execution, letters illegible.


12. Matrix of 11. 14th cent
found in Abbey St 1851. resembling.

To face page 163. drawn by T. Frith.

Fig. 1.



observe the quart 2s 2d crest.

Fig. 2



Obverse and reverse of a seal on a charter in City muniments. It is endorsed Ric.d 2d. Anno 1. But it is "given at Chester." this surely must be a mistake for R. 3.

T. FRITH.

the arms of the county in the abstract would be three garbs gold in an azure field.* (Fig. 4, p. 162, and fig. 2, p. 163)

By the same rule, the seal of the Bishop of Chester for the time being combines his own family arms with the arms of the see (three mitres) upon one shield, side by side. (Fig. 7, p. 165.) This is, however, properly the privy seal or counterseal only, though now used for all general purposes,—there having been formerly also a great official seal used by the first Bishop, which, I suppose, is still in existence. (Fig. 5, p. 164.) So likewise the Dean and Chapter have their corporate seal, while the Dean himself might also properly wear a privy signet of his own, of expressive character. I have given in a plate the private seal, or *sigillum secreti*, formerly used as such by the Mayor of Chester, as distinct from the great seal of the Corporation, in those cases where the latter was not needful, but only his own authority; it may serve well for an example of what I mean. (Fig. 8, p. 162.) Thus, as offices of deputed authority have been subdivided, whether ecclesiastical or civil, so legal seals of office have multiplied also, so as to be very numerous even in our small city. In addition to the great corporate seal (its only legal signature,)† the various subordinate departments might use a special seal, as the Exchequer Court, the Sheriff's, the Coroner's, (figs. 3, 4, p. 164, and fig. 9, p. 147;) nay, every minor guild, constituting a chartered society, would have its common symbol, while also the various principal officers might add their own *secretum*, embodying often the leading features of the chief seal and badges of the county or city. Hence have arisen frequent mistakes, from the indiscriminate use of these various seals, and wrong inferences have been also drawn from confounding seals with coats of arms—the two being often much alike, as in the case of Bristol. Something of this kind is alleged against the civic authorities of Chester by Flower, in the deed defining the bearings of the town; and indeed, ignorance, and consequent disorder on this trivial point, are universal. Such official seals were sometimes expressly assigned by Royal grant, or were named by the donor of endowments in his deed, as Bishop Sherborne gave an express device to the Churchwardens of Rolleston for their Grammar School, directing that its impression should always be stamped on the receipt of stipend (see also fig. 3, p. 165); or they may have originated in any other definite way, and yet may have been ignorantly changed or forgotten as time

* The Exchequer, or any other court of the county, would naturally use on its seal the abstract arms, with badges appropriate to the territories included within its jurisdiction. (See plate of Exchequer seal of *Cheshire* and *Flynte)* (Fig. 3, p. 164.) In fact, the seal of the Earl was the Exchequer seal, varying with each Earl.

† The *name* given to a Corporation in its charter, is, like the name given to a Christian at baptism, essential to its identity, and its "seal" is equally essential to its acts, as being the only way in which a corporate body can express its united signature. (Fig. 1, p. 164.)

went on. There was formerly a seal-keeper in the Exchequers of the Palatine Courts, which of course secured some degree of exactness, the seal of the palatinate being as essential to certain deeds in the county as the seal of England elsewhere; nor could the latter interfere with the prerogative of the former, until the separate jurisdiction was recently established. But we must recollect that such seal, however authoritative, would not necessarily be identical with the *escutcheon* of the county. At present seals are granted to corporations by the Act of Parliament which incorporates them. So the 1st and 2nd Vict. c. 94, enacts "That the Master of the Rolls shall cause to be made a seal of the said record office, and shall cause to be sealed or stamped therewith all certified copies of any record in his custody." The design, however, appears to be left to the discretion of the officer himself. The usual system followed in such cases, to judge from the seal upon their letters, seems to have been, to use the arms and supporters of England, with no difference except in the superscription which describes the particular Government office from which the document proceeds. I confess, simple as this plan is, I would rather see some further badge of distinction obvious at once to the eye, as the Admiralty seal has an anchor on it. Sir Francis Palgrave has shewn a curious use of this last emblematic plan to classify the various heaps of muniments in the record rooms of old (fig. 6, p. 166). On a label over against Papal bulls, was a Pope's head with triple crown; on rolls of the Woods and Forests, an oak tree; on those of the Assay of Mint, a pair of scales; on those of Wales, a man with one shoe on and one shoe off (interpret it as you please); and *(most evidently expressive of all)* the obligations entered into by the men of Chester for obedience to Edward, when made Earl of Chester, were ticketed with the sign of the gallows, to punish traitors! What says the ancient and loyal city unto this? Of course many incorporated societies have seals formed upon this speaking plan. Fortified towns, ancient castra or cities, have generally castellated devices. The rebus, or punning allusion to the name was common, and sometimes grossly absurd, as in the case of our Cheshire town of Congleton, which exhibits on its seal two conger eels and a ton (fig. 2, p. 166). Ridiculous as this kind of device seems, it was a most easy help to memory, and, therefore, more frequent than any other, and had been in use from most remote antiquity.* Hirondelle or swallow, for Arundel; three calves, for Calveley; the brock or badger, for Brooke; the fleur de lys or luys, for Louis of France; *wheat*, for White, Le-white, Whitley or *Blonde*ville; † *bear* and club, for Barkley; corvus or crow, for Corbett, and Le-crow;

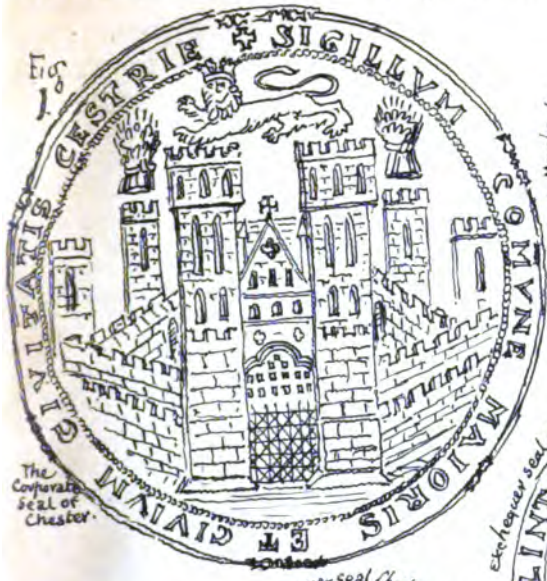
* In the catacombs at Rome, a figure of a pig is drawn over the tomb of "Porcella;" of a ship, over "Navira;" over "Doliens," a cask; over "Leon," a lion; in examples of the 3rd or 4th century. (Fig. 9, p. 166.)

† Planché has traced the garb of Chester to *Blonde*-ville, or Whitchurch

A series of seals of corporate & other offices subordinate to the city; also episcopal of Chester

To face page 164.

Fig 1.



The Corporate seal of Chester.

Fig 2. from a cast.

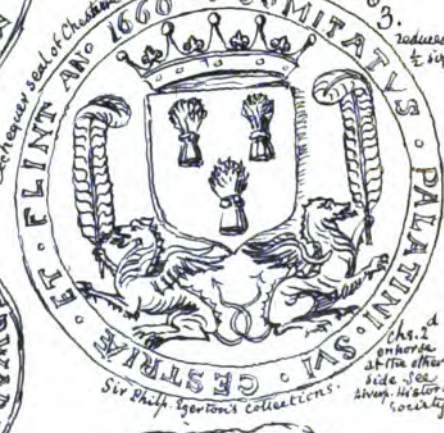


The seal of the Merchants recognizances Court

Edwd. 2d.

M. Lovix said to be with Mr Barnston.

Fig 3.



Exchequer seal of Chester & Flints. at Restoration

reduced ¼ size

Chs. 2d enhorse at the other side. See Lancs. Historic Society

Sir Philip Egerton's collections.

Fig 4



Exchequer Seal Chester in 1311.

Reverse of Fig 4 shewing deep impress of finger.

Sigillo scaccarii nostri signat' dat' apud Cestr' 9° maii An. regni dñi Edw. patris nostri 44 (1311)

Fig 5.



Seal to Signature of John Bird Bishop of Chester, after Reformation & at Reformation of deeds of Sir Philip Egerton

John Chester

A evident allusion to the title of Canterbury & Chancellor of England & "Chancellor of the Vale Royal of Mary" which is attributable to Archbishop Whitgift

Fig 6.



Curious seal of Bishop Bridgman most unfortunate in its suggestions. Supremacy personified. It is from Sir Philip Egerton's deeds.

Temp. King James I.

series of seals of ecclesiastical offices in illustration of lecture. To face page 165



the white swan of Queen Margaret from Sweyn or Swanus, a Saxon ancestor; the liver or seaweed in cormorant's mouth, for Liverpool;* a pansy for Fitton or *Phyton* (φυτον); in short, half of our badges may thus be traced back to a mere verbal pun, even where the origin is lost sight of in the name of the present representative. (Figs. 1, 5, p. 160.)

In the same way as I have just explained the law of civil seals, so also every subordinate ecclesiastical office would have its own symbol—not only the Episcopal and Decanal powers, but Rectorial and other minor *corporations sole*† or social. Also, the Chancellor, Archdeacon, Rural Deans, &c. might naturally use the general badges of the superior power whence they derive their deputed authority, with appropriate marks of difference, or even quite distinct (figs. 1, 4, 6, p. 165). In the plates I have given instances of these: one taken from Sir Philip Egerton's collection exhibits the *official* seal of the Archdeaconry, while another from Mr. Marsh, of Warrington, (*sigillum* Robti de Redeswell,) is a good example how a particular Archdeacon would combine the official with his own individual symbols in forming his own privy signet. Both of them introduce the garb of Chester, proving the wheat sheaf to have been used on ecclesiastical types as well as civic. The canopies so common on such seals are intended to represent the *stalls* set apart to the various officers, being exactly similar to those which we see in abbey churches and cathedrals over the seats of dignitaries.

The various incorporated societies, for purposes of education, missions, church building, &c., must have, of course, each its corporate seal; though they use also other optional devices for minor occasions, as a nurse and child, a figure of Faith, or of an apostle preaching. The Society for Propagating the Gospel have recently published their genuine seal, which is allegorical,—St. Paul in a ship approaching a heathen land, with the motto, "Come over and help us." The New Canterbury settlement has an elegant composition, but somewhat incongruous, from the fact of its mixing up allegory and heraldry in too great a jumble (figs. 8, 9, p. 165).

And this brings me at last to the subject I set out with—the choice of a common seal for our own Society. The design I leave to the artists who are more competent. I should only recommend that, whether we prefer the allegorical, symbolic, architectural, heraldic, or other basis, they should not be mixed, but be wholly in one kind. The heraldic shield will,

* When I gave the lecture, I spoke of the *liver* as a fabulous animal, stating my belief that no such bird was known, the word signifying rather a *leaf*, or flag. I was overruled at the time, but have since found my remark verified by the Peerage and heraldic coat of the Earl of Liverpool, which included a cormorant sable holding in the beak a branch of seaweed (called layer or laver, and livre), being the arms of Liverpool. (See Journal of Liverpool Historic Society.)

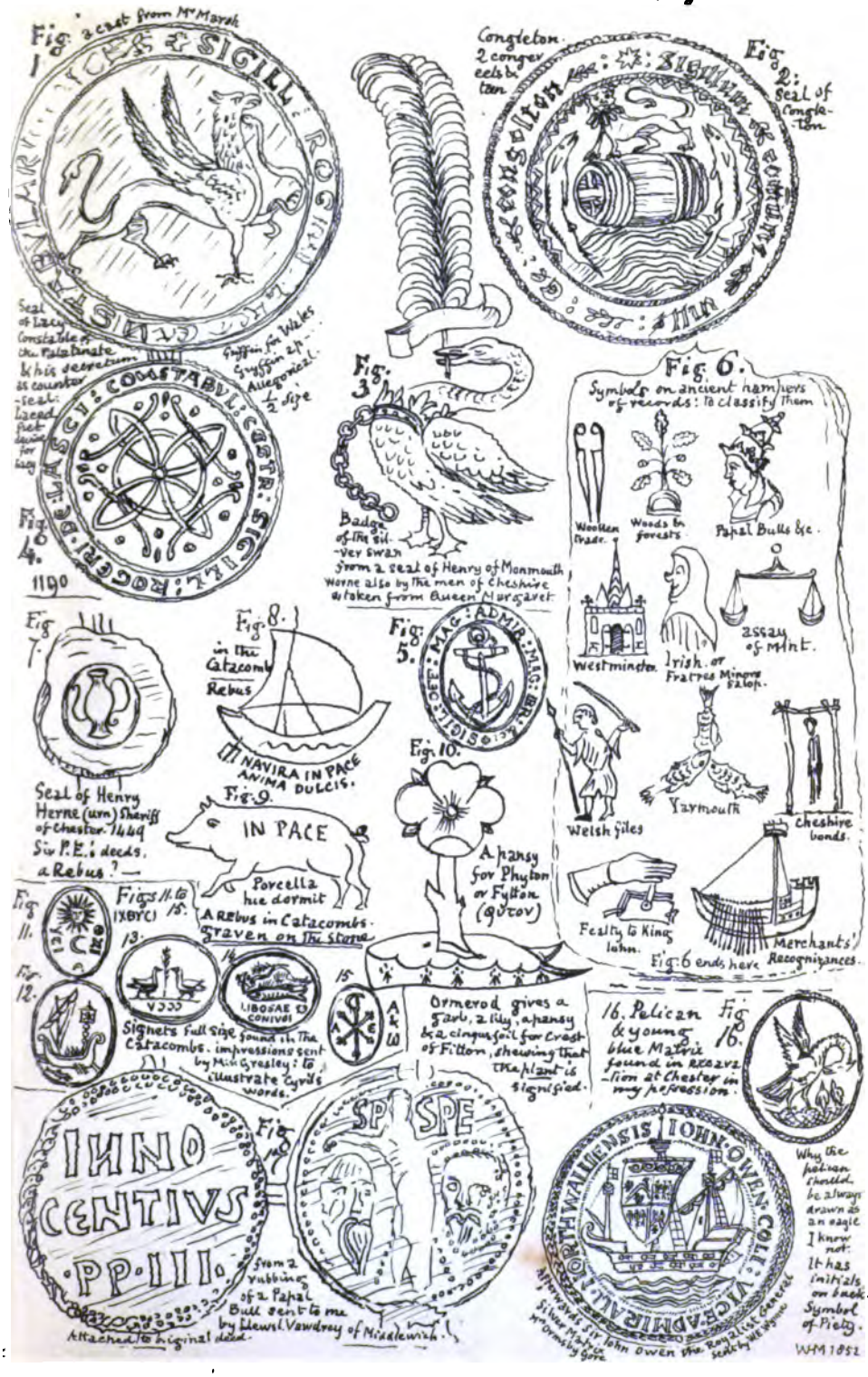
† The seal is not, however, *essential* to a corporation *Sole*, in the same way as to a corporation combining many members.

I think, hardly be adopted, since, in order to legitimate use, it ought to pass through the Herald's College, and we must not sanction irregularity.* The canopied or vesica form would rather imply that the association is ecclesiastical, which is not the case. The objection to allegory is that it gènerally requires an interpreter, or else many neat compositions might be suggested, such as, Time reaping and gleaners gathering what his sickle had left, the sheaves of corn also marking our Cestrian locality, as well as social union. I should however myself prefer some simple and characteristic badge, with double circle of appropriate inscription, but sufficiently ornamental to give it a bold and rich character when printed on the back of our journals. With these general observations I leave the matter in other hands.

I have added in the appendix a numerous selection of local examples, and of others recently brought to light, by way of illustrating this paper, and also to make a record of such discoveries for public and future preservation. An explanation of each is given.

* It is true that coats were assumed long before the Herald's College was incorporated under Richard III.; though Henry V. had disallowed their use by any who could not show a valid title to them. All ensigns, however, which had been borne at Agincourt were confirmed by his special grant. There is little scruple now again to adopt heraldic pretensions, *ad libitum;* but it would not do for a Society like this to set the example.

To face page 166.



To face page 167. —T. Frith del.

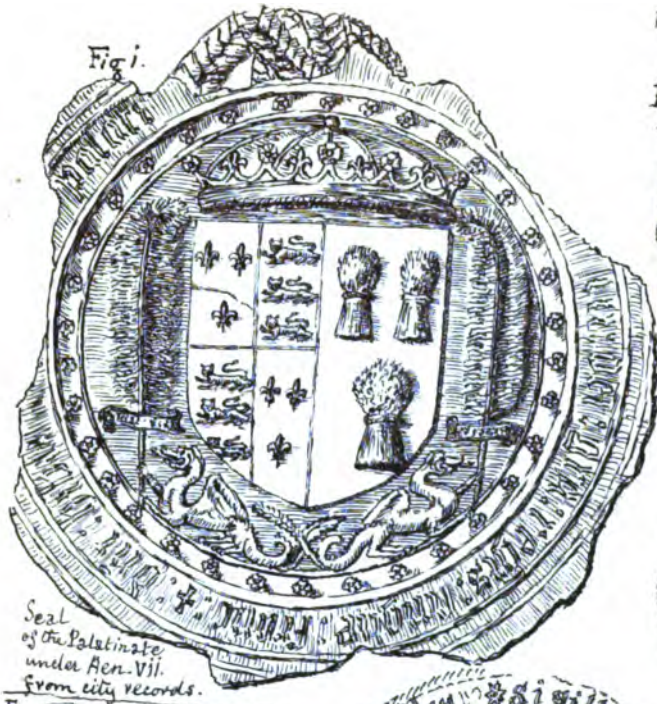


Fig 1.

Seal of the Palatinate under Hen. VII. from city records.



Fig 2.



Fig 3.

Sigillum Adrien de Salesurt. absurdly called "Hugh Lupus" seal.



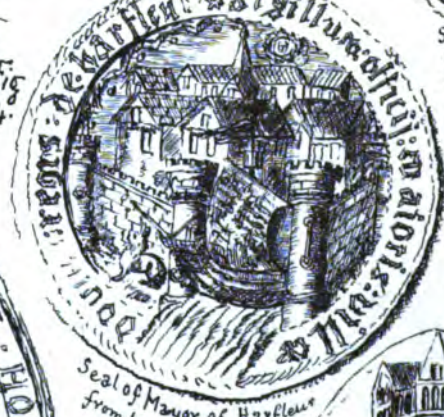
Fig 4.

W. Wigsey Mayor 1449 — from W.E. Wynne. — 1462

Crowned Initials common at one time. Query did it imply official?

Fig 5. Privy seal of Mayor Chester





Seal of Mayor of Hartfleur from brass matrix found at Spital burial ground Boughton, in Chester

Fig 6.



Seal of St. John's hospital in Chester. 1½ size, lead copy in silver from a good original

Fig 7.



Seal used in under Sheriff's office. He is also City Coroner.

Fig 8



Seal found at St Mary's

APPENDIX.

I HERE add a few descriptive remarks on the foregoing plates, many of which are well known, and are only given in illustration of the lecture. Many have, however, never been published before.

PLATE AT PAGE 148.

Fig. 1—Seal of St. Mary's Nunnery, Chester. An impression of this was sent by Mr. Ormerod from a deed exhibited at Bristol Congress, and a still more perfect one from a lease in possession of Sir P. Egerton. The two together supply the inscription complete. Mr. Ormerod considers it to be of Edward the Third's date. Fig. 3 is the seal of the same nunnery at its first foundation by Randal Gernons, soon after 1155. It was procured from the Brit. Mus by Sir P. E. Thus the old seals, like our churches, seem to have been renewed from time to time, preserving the original device, but varying in detail, as the styles of architecture changed.

Fig. 2—Shews the impress of the Lady Abbess on the back, which, while compacting the wax into the mould, left also the token of her act and deed. They are knuckle marks, as the deep wrinkles shew. The same three indents appear in both impressions, proving them intentional. When the seal was round, one finger only was sufficient (as appears from page 164, fig. 4). In earlier times the *tooth* performed this office, as I have explained in the text. The custom is verified by several instances like the one there quoted. Stowe gives one as authentic, on the testimony of an old chronicle in Richmond Library;—

"To the heirs of Hopton, lawfully begotten—
From me and from mine, to thee and to thine,
While the water runs and the sun doth shine,
For lack of heirs to the King again,
I, William, King, in third of my reign,
Give to thee Norman Hun*tere*,
To me that art both leafe and deare,
From me and from mine, to thee and to thine,
As good and as fair, as ever they mine were,—
To witness that this is soothe,
I byte the wax with my toothe,
Before Meg, Maude, and Margery,
And my third son Henery,—
For one bow and arrowe,
When I come to hunt on Yarrowe."

—*(See Blount's Ancient Tenures.)*

From this the family of Hopton are said to claim their estates, But as the very same names of Hopetown, Hopland, and Yarrow, occur in the similar grant in note at page 146, and other instances, I am disposed to think that Hopetown and Hoplands, answer to Upton and Uplands (up being in root the same as hop), and so imply all moors and shooting ranges; and that yarrow has a like meaning from the Saxon yr, an arrow. Upton and Yarrow occur still in the old forest ground of Wirral, alluded to in the latter grant. And Baines, in his history of Lancashire, quotes from Harl. MSS. No. 6079, fol. 109, another to the like purpose :—

"I, William, geve to thee, Powsen Rowdn,
My Hope and Hoplands, with ye boundes up and downe,
From heaven to earth and earth to helle,
For thee and thine to dwelle,
From me and myne to thee and thyne,
For a bowe and a broade arrowe,
When I come to hunt upon Yarrowe,
In witnesse this is soothe,
I byte the wax with my foretoothe."

The form from heaven above to hell beneath was a phrase implying the absolute fee-simple of the soil, with all above it and below it, without limit.

Fig. 4—The Saxon seal of Ælfric, *I suppose Earl of Kent*, (not Mercia,) and father of Ælfric whose devotional writings of tenth century are published. It was found by a labourer near Winchester in 1832 and is well known. I only give it as a specimen of a decided Saxon seal. The seal of Ethelwald, Bishop of Dunwich, about the middle of the ninth century, was found close to the monastery of Eye in 1821, and is now in the British Museum. The cast was given to me by Mr. Marsh, of Warrington.

Fig. 5—An Egyptian signet exhibited at the Chester Congress by Mr. Fairholt, who described the device as "the name of Amunoph III. within a cartouche."

Fig. 6—Is a very perfect Roman bronze signet, with a device of either a half-length cupid, or I know not what, graven in a blue onyx stone. The outline is more smooth in the original. It was found some years ago near to the present Training College, and is in the collection of Mr. Hastings, Abbey Green.

Fig. 7—A gold signet, with amethyst jewel, found in one of the Abbot's coffins at Chester Cathedral, together with a pastoral crook. The latter is lost, but the former is in the possession of the Dean of Chester.

Fig. 8—Is from Henry's history of England, who quotes out of Pancirollus a full account of these castellated symbols of vicegerency, which were stamped on the books of mandates of the Roman governor, with some slight difference in the form of castle for each province.—Civic

devices of this character were general throughout the empire in the fifth century, and were probably the type of similar architectural seals for chief cities to this day (see p. 164, fig. 1). Compare also fig. 9, p. 148, which is drawn beside it on purpose. This is from a silver wafer "toppe" (in possession of Mr. Broster), and is the evident matrix of many impressions still attached to Coroner's inquests in the city (so I am told). But there is another very like it, only somewhat larger and without the garb, in the Under Sheriff's office (of the county), who happens to be also Coroner. (Page 167, fig. 9.)

PLATE AT PAGE 156.

These are none of them new, and are only sketched to explain the lecture. The inscriptions on the plate tell all about them.

PLATE AT PAGE 158.

Fig. 1—A full description of this deed is given by Planché in the Journal of the Archæological Association. Its discovery was singular; Mr. Planché had been searching in vain for seals of the earliest Counts Palatine; at the Chester Congress I expressed to him my conviction that a deed existed of the kind among the archives of Lord Westminster, having a green seal with an equestrian figure on it. I had seen it named in some guide-book, but could not recollect where. Inquiry and search were diligently made, but no one knew of any such thing, so that I was supposed to "have dreamed it." At length, however, a tin box was discovered by Mr. Allen, in the muniment-room at Eaton, containing the very document, with the green seal appended, but not the chief seal. The charter, though not the original grant of Hugh Lupus to St. Werburgh's monastery, yet contained that grant in full, with a confirmation by Anselm, and by Randal Gernons, and is not found either in Dugdale or Ormerod. Mr. Black, on inspection, pronounced it one of the most perfect and beautiful deeds he had ever seen, and its matter is of utmost *local* interest, so many places and churches being named in it. It is witnessed finally by "Roberto Dapifero, Chadwaladro Rege Nort Walliarum, Willelmo de Manulwarien, Roberto de Maci, Gilbert de Venables," and afterwards by the very "Ricardo Pincerna" (whose seal appears in fig. 3 at page 159). The green seal, which alone remains entire, is assigned by Planché to some one of the witnesses (not to the Earl), and yet I cannot help thinking the termination I N, still legible, may be part of the title "de Meschin," which belonged to the family of Randal Gernons, whose seal may have been used (*i.e.* of some member of it).

Fig. 3—I give another impression, among the Chester records, of the seal of John, when Earl of Moretaine, in Normandy. It is noted as the earliest indications of the *lions* on a royal seal, being in the time of

Henry II. The obverse is nearly obliterated, but the counterseal (fig. 4) is plain enough, being an antique so frequent in that Earl's period.

Fig. 6—Seal of Randal Blondeville. Though well known, this is given as first exhibiting the garb, or wheat sheaf, in connexion with Chester, and also as a good example of the heraldic counterseal, which became presently so universal. The garbs assigned to his predecessors rest on no positive authority, and were probably assigned to them in after time, just as the wolf's head erased was assigned to Hugh Lupus long after his death. But Mr. Planché's view that the *wheat* was given in allusion to the name of "*Whitchurch*," where Randal was born, and so was called "Blondeville," is most probable. (See also fig. 1, page 160). There is abundant proof that the *general* principle upon which arms were given was "*mere alliteration*,"—some distant resemblance in the sound of the name,—as the "Clarions" of "Clarence," and many other instances given in the text. We still see the same punning system followed,—as for "Gamon," three pheasants suspended by the neck; for "Armitstead," a bent arm stayed by a spear; and so on, which (however ridiculous it seems) was intended as a sort of *memoria technica*, so as at once to suggest the name of the person to whom the arms belonged. The principal exceptions are badges of office, held before heraldry commenced,—as the covered cup for "Pincerna," or "Butler;" the blood-hound for Grosvenor, the "great hunter;" the horn and arrow for Done the Delamere Forester; and the stag, for Silvester, the Wirral Forester, and thence for Stanley. I think too, that the royal lion, which was all at once adopted by the Kings of England, Scotland, Norway, and native Princes of Wales, &c. were (if partly from *Leon*) yet eventually from the fact that, as the Roman empire bore the king of birds, so our Sovereign would bear the king of beasts. Nevertheless, in the main, the "*pun*" was evidently the more general rule, and often very far fetched indeed!

PLATE AT PAGE 159.

Fig. 1—The seal of Guthlac de Riblie serves well, at all events, to illustrate the period of transition from the simple Saxon cross to the Norman custom of seals and badges. It would, of course, have been more valuable were it verified by any deed; but the trifling sum I gave to the labourer who found it could never remunerate any one for a forgery. The matrix is a greasy brown stone, flat and rough on the back, as if it had been imbedded in some more weighty mass. The name Guthlac is Saxon (as we know from the history of Guthlac of Croyland); but the "De Riblie" seems a Norman title. The letters are very early, and much like those on the seal of Henry I. (fig. 5). Mr. Roach Smith considers it much earlier. The letters read the wrong way round, and are turned with the foot outwards, which, however, may be also seen in the genuine

seal of Pincerna, next to it (fig. 3). I have added in fig. 2 shields from the Bayeux tapestry, to prove the Norman shape of the seal. The monogram upon it, the symbol of Christianity used on the banner of Constantine (fig. 16, p. 166), is abundant in the catacombs, and is continued in the same form to this day.

Fig. 3—Seal of *Ricardus Pincerna*, was brought to me by Mr. T. F. Maddock, whose kindness in allowing me to inspect the city charters I am glad to acknowledge here. The deed to which it is attached belongs to Mrs. Lancaster; it is short, perfect, and beautifully written, addressed by Richard Pincerna to Walter Durdent, Episcopo Cestrensi (as the Bishops of Lichfield were sometimes called), who excommunicated Randal Gernons, Earl of Chester. The deed grants land to Egidio de Calch (St. Giles). The same Richard is a witness to the deed of Randal Gernons before named (fig. 1, p. 158), and he also granted therein St. Olave's Church to the monastery of Chester. Pincerna was the old Roman name for "cup-bearer," and was an hereditary office in the Palatinate, whence the name became Butler, in his descendants of Bewsey, Lords of Warrington, whose arms appear in that church, as well as on the tomb of Robert Curthoyse at Gloucester (three covered cups on the shield of Abbot Butler). I adduce it as a good example of the transition from the badge of office to the heraldic bearing. I add also, in fig. 5, the seal of Henry I. to shew the flowers in the same position upon both. Some of the Pincerna race almost invariably witness to the charters of the Norman Earls. The word is derived from "pinax," a cup.

Fig. 6—The seal of William de Romare, through whom Lincoln came to the Earl of Chester, is from a splendid MSS. in the City Library (about A.D. 1600), containing an emblazoned pedigree of Hugh Lupus. The perfect development of the shield of arms upon it is not compatible (surely ?) with the apparent date of the charter to which it is attached. The facsimile there given (in part) is witnessed by Alexander, the magnificent Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1137, which would make it indeed an early instance of an heraldic seal; but I imagine the deed (if entire) would prove it to be a *confirmation* (embodying the original grant of the first William de Romare) by his son of the same name.

Fig. 7—Is named by Planché as an early instance of the bend used for difference, and of the rebus kind of device. It is the seal of William de Filgeriis, or Fougeres, which signifies "fern," that plant appearing upon the shield. We have already seen that this pun upon names was the almost universal rule of design, except where badges of office had previously marked the family. The seal is of Cestrian interest, as being attached to a covenant between this William de Filgeriis and Randal Blondeville Earl of Chester, in 1200. The blazing star of Anjou appears on each side of the shield.—*(Archæological Journal, July*, 1851.*)*

PLATE AT PAGE 160.

Fig. 1—Shews the garb or wheat sheaf for "Wheatley," from a deed of Sir P. Egerton's, confirming the view taken of the garbs of Chester as derived from Randal Blondeville (or Whitchurch)—white and wheat being the same word radically in most languages.

Fig. 4—*Secretum celat Agnus idem que serat*, is an evident allusion to the 6th chapter of Revelations, "And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals," &c. It is given in support of the interpretation before put upon the equestrian device. The "*Ecce Agnus Dei*," in fig. 12, was a very common subject in the fourteenth century, and generally affected a rudeness of engraving, as if each person cut his own (see fig. 11, p. 162). The letters are so square as to be barely legible, having the unfortunate link from point to point of the letter, which makes the C like D, and the E like B.

Figs. 14 and 15—Are interesting as the seals of chaplains, "del Bache." (I suppose of the Bache, as being attached to deeds concerning Upton.) The first shews an heraldic shield over an ecclesiastic device. (Compare figs. 19, 20, and p. 165, fig. 2.) The second has just such a chalice as we find incised upon chaplains' tombstones.

Fig. 16—Is the seal of the Peculiar Rectory of Hawarden, the canopy over it being of an elegant pyxlike form. It is from Sir P. Egerton's deeds.

Fig. 18—Is given as one out of a variety of floriated initials. The first letter of the name with a crown over it was very common in the 15th and 16th centuries, even where the rank of the person did not require the coronet. (See plate at page 167, fig. 7.)

Figs. 19, 20—Are the obverse and reverse of the seal of the fraternity of St. John of Jerusalem (in England), attached to a deed belonging to Mrs. Lancaster. The word "pinace" (I suppose) refers to the head of John in a charger, which is the device on the chief seal. The counterseal of Brother William de Haunley is thoroughly heraldic. It exemplifies also the manner of endorsing the common seal by the *secretum* of the individual bearing office at the time.

PLATE AT PAGE 161.

Fig. 1—Is from tiles found at both Marton Church near Congleton, and St. Michael's, Chester, which have been taken as patterns by Mr. Minton. It is here given to explain the form called "Vesica piscis," as peculiar at first to ecclesiastical seals.

Fig. 2—Is the only example I possess actually marked "*Contra*-sigillum;" a gutta percha cast was given to me by Albert Way. The composition is elegant, though I do not quite trace the meaning of it, except the crown and pastoral staff as symbols of an Abbey Regalis.

Fig. 3—The seal of Hawise de Keveoloc, great grand-daughter to the famous Owen Cyveilioch, called Hawise Gadarn, or the Hardy, who appears on the splendid stained glass in the east window of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury. The matrix is in silver, of Edward the Second's date, and the engraving sharp, deep, and elegant beyond any I ever saw. The features, drapery, wimple, and head-dress of the original are far more perfect than my rough drawing could express. It is a good and early example of the manner in which a noble heiress bore her own arms in one hand and her husband's in the other, answering the end of impalement. It is an instance also of the use of the vesica *(soon)* in seals of titled females, the transition being from "our lady," as she appears in fig. 10. Fig. 6 shews clearly the appropriation of that shape to the female, where an identical device appears on a circle for the husband, on a vesica for the wife, whence the widow's lozenge is derived. However the Powys seal has created much interest. It was first shewn to me by Mr. Penson, having been found by men in his employ when excavating for a building at Oswestry. It is remarkable that there was also a Hawise, daughter of Hugh de Keveilioc, Earl of Chester, in the 13th century, to whom the lion rampant is in early MSS. assigned (and with greater probability than the six garbs). But the dress is of a later date, as well as the little "star" instead of a cross before sigillum; and, as Mr. Ormerod observes, the *Domine* de Keveoloc, expresses domain, and not the mere title which the Earl of Chester bore from birth. The true Hawise, then, was an heiress of the royal tribe of Powys (Gwenynwyn) wife of Sir J. Charleton, who also (as well as the lady's ancestors) bore the lion rampant, the distinction of colour not being visible on the seal. Mr. Morris, of Shrewsbury (the admirable Welsh genealogist), explains the two lions on the other shield in a letter given below.*

* "Johanna, mother of Hawise Gadarn, was the only surviving child of Sir Robert Corbet, of Moreton, co. Salop, Knt. by Catharine, daughter of John Lord Strange, of Knockin. Thomas Corbet, brother of Johanna, avoiding the single raven of his family, bore for arms, 'or, 6 ravens, 3, 2, and 1 proper, a canton gules, thereon 2 lions passant argent.' He died s. p. before his father, and the Corbet estates having passed to the issue of Sir Robert's second marriage, Hawise appears to have followed her uncle's example, and to have adopted, in conjunction with the arms of her father ("gules, a lion rampant, or"), those of Strange, avoiding the Corbet arms altogether. This seal is very valuable, as it explains with certainty the intermarriage of her paternal line with the Corbet family, as to which almost every pedigree of ancient date differs: they all state the mother of Hawise to have been a Corbet, but differ as to her Christian name and the names of her parents."—"J. Morris, Shrewsbury."

And here let me add with regard to this interesting seal how the Welsh books state that four of her uncles claimed her estates, (by their law of reverting from the female to the male line,) and how Edward II. took her part, giving her in marriage to Sir J. Charleton, (whom he made Lord Powis at once,) and entailing the property of the four uncles on *her* issue, but not touching the inheritance of a fifth uncle,

Fig. 4—Seal of the White Friars or Carmelites of Chester, whose monastery stood between Whitefriars, Weaver-street, and Commonhall-street. It is from a cast sent to me by Mr. Marsh, of Warrington, who has given a beautiful collection to the museum of that town. The seal is quite new to me, and, I believe, hitherto unknown in Chester. The noble pair of candlesticks are enough to frighten some of us out of our wits in these days.

Fig. 7—The seal of the Liverpool Corporation has been the subject of much discussion *(vide* Journal of Liverpool Historic Society). The issue makes it out to have been originally the eagle of St. John, with the ink-horn in its beak, and label, inscribed Iohis, for Johannis, in its claw,—there having existed there, from the earliest date, an altar dedicated to St. John by "Johannis de Leverpole," whose seal was probably made the basis of the civil seal attached to their first charter. Supposing this to be the case, I am still disposed to think that the inkhorn was at that time *purposely* changed into the "sprig of three leaves," as it is obviously a *sprig* on the original seal; and this would account better for the present crest of Liverpool—a cormorant with a sprig of "laver" or "flag" in his beak—as having been suggested by the seal. I have, however, only given it as an example of a *civic* seal, in the vesica form, which may still be traced to its ecclesiastical origin. It would have been quite as good a pun, if the bird had been meant for the "dove and olive branch," to represent Mercy, in allusion to the river. The real derivation of Liverpool, however, is most probably "Litherpool," or "Lower-pool," in affinity with "Lither-*land*," above the shore, and in opposition to "*Over*pool," at the other extremity of the estuary. The star and crescent are thought by some to mean the star of the East and the crescent of the Saracens, as it first appeared at the time of the Crusades, and is seen on the seal of Richard the First (fig. 8) distinctly. Others interpret it as Christ the Sun of Righteousness, and the Moon for the Virgin Mary. Whatever its import, it was henceforth almost universal upon seals, (See the seal of St. John's Hospital, and compare a device from the catacombs, fig. 11, p. 166.)

PLATE AT PAGE 162.

Fig. 1—Is an example of the usual style of seal used in the Exchequer of the Palatinate, which was, in fact, the seal of the Royal Count himself, a new one being made for every fresh Earl. It combines the ostrich

William, (as he had not joined the others,) whose grand-daughter and heiress, Hawys Enyon, by marriage with Hanmer became ancestress of Sir John Hanmer, who also bears two lions pass. gard. on his coat of arms. (Our Welsh friends best understand these intricacies.) W. E. Wynne, M.P. for Merionethshire, has also sent me a fine seal of Gray de Tanquerville, a true descendant and heir of Hawys Gadarn, in the 15th century; but I believe there is no direct line left on the Powys domains who could still claim relationship by blood with Hawys Gadarn, the original owner of the seal.

plume, in token that the Earl was also Prince of Wales. Prince Edward, (afterwards Edward V.) was at Chester when five years old, in 1475, but this deed is seven years later, in the last year of his father's life, and only a short time before the unfortunate youth was murdered by his uncle, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the Third. Some animal grasps the feather, but I know not what, as only the crown of the head is left. It is attached to a charter of the Cordwainers' Company, in care of Mr. Jones, their treasurer.

Fig. 8—Is from a silver matrix lent to me by Mr. E. Parry, the industrious author of the Royal Visits to Chester and Wales. The garbs are precisely in the conventional form of Henry III. or Edward I.; and the device is such as might naturally have been used by the first Mayor, as deriving his authority from the Royal Earl, whose arms are graven on it. The only impression I find among the records, at all like it, is in fig. 6, which is either parent or child to fig. 8. The elegance of the matrix and position of the cross argue its genuineness, *I think*. I wish it might be consigned to the office of the Mayor, Mr. Broster is said to own it now; and here I cannot help relating a little anecdote; I once used the seal in writing to Mr. Broster, who, in his reply, wrote thus:—"I cannot help telling you that the important seal excited the Post-office, London, to open it, and see if any treason was therein; but I also sent a large cannister of potted prawns to a friend in Manchester, which they bored a hole in, thinking it might be combustible."

Fig. 10—Is the silver matrix of the Powys seal of "Hawise de Keveoloc." Such seals used to be suspended to the breast, (as indicated also in the loops of fig. 8,) or to the wrist more commonly; for in the *Public Mercury* of July 19, 1660, is advertised as lost, "a gold seal, being a coat of arms, cut in a piece of gold, in form of a lozenge, fastened to a black riband to tie about the wrist."

PLATE AT PAGE 163.

Fig. 1—Is from a charter in the city muniments, invariably quoted as of Richard II. and so endorsed; but if so, how come there to be only three *fleurs de lys*, since the number was only reduced to three by Henry V. and the white boar was the well-known badge of Richard III. If this conjecture is right, we possess a charter of a reign not hitherto known. The garb for a crest confirms my view of the county arms at page 162. It is accurately copied by Mr. Frith, of the Town Clerk's office.

PLATE AT PAGE 164.

Fig. 1—Is the great corporate seal of Chester. It is a fine design, and very characteristic of the city. The lion and the garbs mark the royalty and earldom, while the castellated structure bears some probable resem-

blance to the gateway and walls of the town about Edward the First's date. I wonder whether any deed exists to confirm its antiquity, or whether it is a more recent design in imitation of mediæval style? I have already compared it with the badge of Roman vicegerency. (Fig. 8, p. 148.)

Fig. 2—I have added as an example of civic seals used in the subordinate courts of a corporate town. There are many good casts of it, this matrix being also in the hands of Mr. Broster. The impression is found attached to deeds under the statute of Merchants' Recognizances. The castles (badges of Castile) imply the date of Edward II. A little garb, instead of cross, marks the centre, whence the legend starts.

Fig. 4—Is the Exchequer seal of the Palatinate in 1371, when de la Pole was justiciary (as the deed states), which is another charter of the cordwainers. The reverse shews the deep impression of a single finger. This seal again serves to prove how the Exchequer seal was really the seal of the *Earl*, varying in each reign, and each Earl supplying a fresh one of his own. It was formerly under a seal-keeper, an officer of the Lord Chamberlayne of the county, whose vocation ceased with the Palatine courts. A very perfect impression of Queen Elizabeth's Exchequer seal of Chester is among the county records; the Queen on horseback forming the obverse, and the royal arms impaled with the three garbs of the county forming the reverse, between the Tudor supporters. No. 3 is the Exchequer seal, as renewed at the Restoration in 1660. It differs in shewing the escutcheon of the county *alone*. The Tudor dragons and Prince's feather are appropriate to an Exchequer of "Chester and Flynte," though hardly as suitable to an institution for Cheshire only. The obverse displays Charles on horseback (as usual), but not facing the usual way. Had the ancient rules of design been lost during the Commonwealth? Sir Ed. Cust's paper on this seal is worth reading in the Liv. Hist. Soc. Journal.

Fig. 5—The seal of John Bird, first an Abbot, and afterwards first Bishop of Chester. He seems to have been "*most accommodating*," being a Papist to begin with, a Protestant under Henry VIII. and a Papist again under Mary. It is remarkable that after three centuries the same name should be found on our list of Bishops in the person of John Bird Sumner. The Abbey, when made into a Cathedral was dedicated to Christ and the Virgin, who appear on the seal, but in attitude according with the Reformation, Mary being indeed surrounded with a flaming glory, but in posture of prayer to Jesus, whose fingers are raised in token of instruction.

Fig. 6—Is the seal of Bishop Bridgman, an earthly crown occupying the place of glory, where IHS, or the Dove of the Holy Spirit used once to hover overhead. The whole design thrusts the supremacy forward in a painful prominency, as if the Bishop had been proud of owing all, that constitutes episcopacy, to an earthly donor. How would good Queen Bess,

or our present beloved Victoria, have shrunk from the Uzziah-like arrogance implied in the "glorified crown." It seems to have been the Bishop's own device, suggested probably by warm loyalty, but by taste most gross. The arms underneath are in the usual episcopal form, impaling Bridgman's own family coat with that of the Abbey (three mitres). These arms still exist on the carved oak in the Lady Chapel.

PLATE AT PAGE 165.

Fig. 1—The seal of the Dean and Chapter, not much better in design than the last—perhaps worse, if I understand it right. H. 8 marks Henry VIII. upon his throne. On one side the Virgin humbly stands, as the letter V denotes; on the other (I imagine) C designates a higher Being still: a figure kneels below, making the whole a sort of burlesque upon the ancient sacred seals. Perhaps a more complete impression would remove these apparent indecencies; and, no doubt, a complete one could be easily procured, as the seal is the legal one still in use.

Figs. 4 and 5 mark well the distinction between the sigillum commune and the sigillum secreti; the former being the official seal of the Archdeaconry (abstract), the latter the privy seal of the immediate holder of the office. The garbs, which are preserved in both, shew that the same badge was adopted in ecclesiastical as well as civil offices. There were several minor Archdeacons in the diocese, but the Archdeacon of Chester alone had a stall at the Cathedral, and exercised real jurisdiction, being called "The Eye of the Bishop." He seems in the seal to be setting out on an errand to discharge the "ocular office." The canopies on such seals represent the tabernacle work above their stalls in Church. The other examples in this page tell their own tale. The best sort of device for a Rectory, or other Church, is, I think, an image of the building itself.

PLATE AT PAGE 166.

Fig. 1—The seal of Roger Lacy, towards the end of the 12th century. It is from a cast given to me by Mr. Marsh. I give it as one example of an allegorical rebus. Lacy was hereditary Constable of Chester, and a sore foe to the Welsh Chieftains. The griffin is the badge of Wales, and a serpent (perhaps a lœce, or leech) has seized his throat, to suck his life's blood out. On the counterseal (fig. 4) is a fretted pattern of interlaced curves; in allusion still to the name of "Lacy."—This (if true) would be only a match for the next—

Fig. 2—Two conger eels and a ton, the seal of the borough of Congleton—(Conger-eel-ton).

Fig. 3—The *swan*, a Lancastrian badge of Henry IV. is derived (so Planchè thinks) from Sweyne, or Swanus, a Danish ancestor of the Bohuns. I only introduce it, because it is so often spoken of as a gift

from Queen Margaret to each of the men of Cheshire who followed her cause. It was either fastened by a silver chain to the arm, or embroidered in silver on the sleeve (as the porter's number still). This is the peculiar distinction of the badge, being worn by retainers on the arm, sometimes with the motto or *cri de guerre* under it. The preachers, when enrolling crusaders, fixed on the shoulder of those who obeyed the call a red cross with the motto, "*Dei voluntas*" under it, one of the earliest badges known. Such was the silver swan of Margaret, given to the men of Cheshire, alluded to in Mr. Beamont's paper on Blore Heath.

Figure 5 is only given to illustrate my recommendation of some simple and expressive emblem on a seal. Who can doubt what office the anchor comes from? The several images under fig. 6 shew the same rule, as formerly adopted to distinguish hampers of deeds in the Record Office. The Cheshire lot were known by a gallows, *leaving no room for doubt as to what county they belonged to.*

Fig. 11 to 15 are specimens of signets found in the catacombs at Rome, kindly placed in my hands by Miss Gresley, and serving well to illustrate the quotation from Cyril, at page 159, "Let our signets be the dove, the fish, the heavenward sailing ship." They shew likewise the very early origin of the *rebus;* the tomb of Navira being graven with a *boat* (navis); that of Doliens with a cask (dolium), corresponds exactly to the *Bolt* and *ton* for "Bolton Abbey," or to the *briar* and *ton* in the east window of St. Mary's, Chester, for "Brereton." The *urn* for Herne, in fig. 7, A.D. 1449, is another instance of a very bad pun.

Fig. 16 is an ecclesiastical device, its purple matrix having been found in excavations at Chester and brought to me. The pelican or eagle feeding her young with her own blood, is the ancient symbol of the Church.

Fig. 17—The next is a papal bulla attached to a deed in possession of Mr. Vawdry, of Middlewich, who sent me a rubbing of the leaden seal, here drawn.

PLATE AT PAGE 167.

Fig. 1—The seal of Henry VII. as holding the Palatinate, is another fine example of the Earl's Exchequer seal. It is added here to prove the origin of the dragons and plume upon the seal of Charles II. (fig. 3, p. 164), the red dragon having been adopted by Henry in token of his connection with Wales through Tudor blood.

Fig. 5—The smaller privy seal of the Mayor would fall under the condemnation in a preceding note; but it does not appear to profess to be heraldic, but only combining on a stamp the principal badges of the city,—just as the buttons of the police do also.

Fig. 3—The brass seal of Adrien de Salevert (?) has long been absurdly exhibited under a glass case as the seal of Hugh Lupus, I suppose

from the shaggy supporters having been taken for wolves. Here is a complete shield of arms assigned to one who died near a century before heraldry was born! and Gothic letters of the 15th century on a seal of the 11th century!! Moreover, the real name of the owner is round it, written full length!!! And the error is not corrected yet at the Museum!!!!

Fig. 4—Is a remarkable and interesting seal found in the Spital burial ground in Boughton. The matrix is in solid brass, but broken, the sculpture being, however, almost perfect. It is the only instance I have seen of the legend in intaglio (though the device is in cameo), a custom in occasional use from the 13th century. The effect is not good. This too has been mistaken for a seal of Chester, owing to a word on it which looks something like Devana. I was at first delighted to see a vessel bristling with guns, passing full sail between the towers of the Watergate, but the triumph was soon dissipated by a perusal of the writing, which ascribes the seal to the Mayor of Harfleur, "*Sigillum officii Maioris ville do. regis de Harfleu.*" The description of the place in Sir H. Nicolas' Agincourt answers closely to the Representation of the city here; and as I perceive the lions and fleur de lys quartered on the sails, I take it to be the seal granted by Henry V to the city, after its conquest. The hare couching beside the gate, and the face looking out of a flower in the clouds, forming an English rebus, also seem to denote its English origin. It is a rich design, though too minutely intricate. The matrix was lent to me by Mr. Parry, who stated that it belonged to Mr. Broster.

Fig. 6—Is the seal of St. John's Hospital at Chester. The silver matrix, now held by the Coporation, is of modern date, though evidently copied from an original as old as the foundation of the Hospital by the second Randal in early English times. It exhibits John the Baptist under the discipline of the wilderness, represented by a scourge of thistles in the hands of angels. It is indeed a most coarse, clumsy imitation of a very striking original which might, I have no doubt, be found attached to some ancient deeds. The seal will soon pass with the property itself into other hands, who will, it is hoped, devote the estate more honestly to charitable purposes than its late guardians, who employed the proceeds in relieving their public rates. Would that the Court of Chancery, in restoring the alms-houses, had paid at least so much respect to the memory of the original founder as to have built them in a style which would have answered to the age of its first institution, and so would at once have carried the mind back to the time when the founder lived! Solidity, comfort, and symmetry of form could easily have been so attained. But it is hopeless to expect anything beyond a cold combination of brick and mortar from those central powers, who, living at a distance, have no local care, feel no real interest, and can sympathize with none of those feelings of our citizens, which crave

something better in structures thrust upon their sight every time they pass that way!

Fig. 8—Is a seal found in excavations at the foot of St. Mary's Hill, Chester, and brought to me by Mr. Baylis, the city surveyor. It is an impression in lead, thick and heavy, from an early English seal. At first I took it for the seal of St. Mary's Nunnery, but I presently found it to be that of Luffield, which was established about 1130, and dissolved by Pope Alexander VI. at the instance of Henry VII. in 1498, for want of funds to support the establishment and buildings. Archdeacon Wood has sent me a full description out of Dugdale, who states that the revenues were applied to the maintenance of Henry VII.'s chantry at Westminster. I have only given it as an example of an impression upon lead. Mr. Dawes gives me other instances known to himself; and Mr. Roach Smith thinks it may be one of those fac-similies which were laid up with the registrar, in order to test and detect forgeries. (See Bigland on Registers). I wish, however, it had been attached to a deed, without which it is impossible to deduce inferences. The matrix (I am told) was in the hands of Mr. Prescott, of Stockport, formerly.

PLATE AT PAGE 180.

Fig. 1—"*Sigillum Henr. primogeniti Henrici quarti comitis Cestrie.*" I only adduce this out of the muniments of Chester, because I have somewhere heard it said that a seal of Henry the Fourth's time, exhibiting the swan and ostrich feather, is a desideratum. This is the seal of his eldest son, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and may possibly be of interest on that account. It also supplies the badge of the white swan from our own local archives. Observe upon it the "*fleurs de lys semées,*" *i.e.* sprinkled in indefinite numbers on the shield; whereas the seal of the same Henry when King has only three lilies, shewing the exact period when the change took place.

Fig. 2—Is the seal of the Black or preaching Friars of Exeter, which was sent to me by W. E. Wynne, Esq., M.P. It is a beautiful and well cut specimen. I give it on that account, and also because I have no local example of a Black Friars' seal to give from any document connected with the ancient monastery of that order at Chester.

Fig. 3—Is the pommel of the sword of Hugh Lupus, and fig. 4 the sword itself. The floriated pattern is on mother of pearl, probably of Tudor date, having been at some time renewed. It is kept under a glass case in the British Museum. The blade is, however, the original one, and "Hugo comes," is written in such letters as appear on the seal of William the Conqueror. The pattern on the round pommel is followed in the seal of the Society, as an appropriate device, especially as Charlemagne, the restorer of seals, is said to have used the pommel of his sword

To face page 100.

T. Frith del.

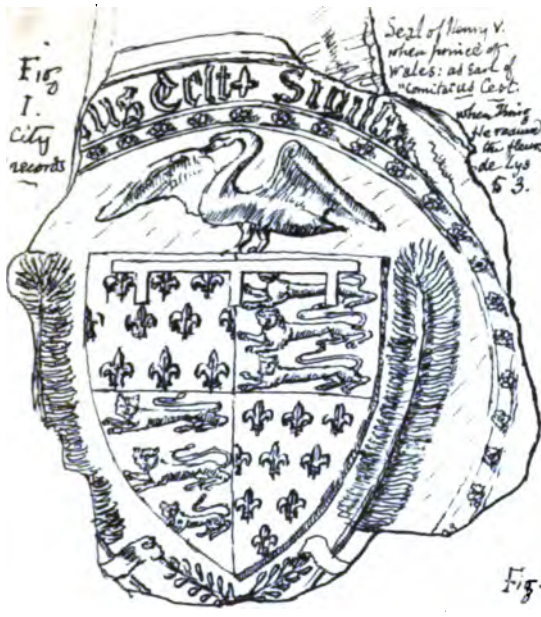


Fig. 1. City records

Seal of Henry V. when prince of Wales: as Earl of Comitatus Cest. when King he resumed the flowers de Lys &c.

Fig. 2. Sigillum fratris Thome Drew' prioris hone Seal of a prior of the Black friars & also Prior Thomas Drew... I have none of the Black friars of Chester. ARTH.



From W. P. Wynne M.P.

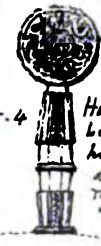


Fig. 4. Handle of the Sword of Hugh Lupus. The pommel seems to have been renewed in Tudor date. The blade is original. The letters correspond in character with those on seal of William 1st.

Fig. 3. Mother of Pearl

Pommel of Sword of Hugh Lupus Portt. Mus.



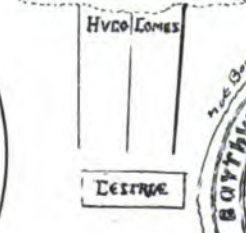


Fig. 5. S. hospitale - lis beate Marie de Bony - dun



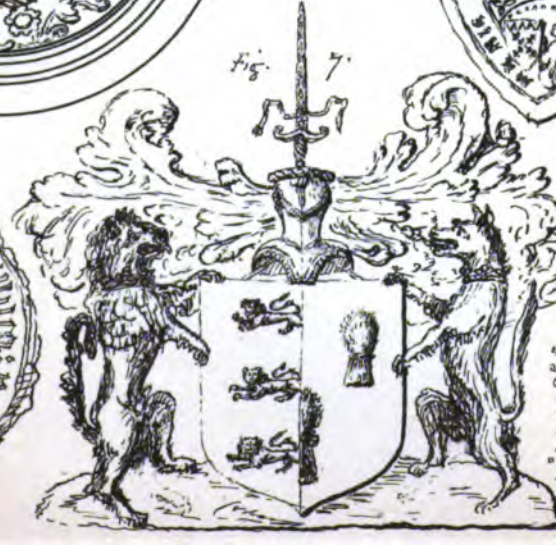
From Mr Marsh, Warwing - ton.

Fig. 6. city records



Seal of Richd 2d as Earl of Chester

Fig. 7.



In the infancy of Heraldry dimidiation was employed as here. See Seal of Queen of Edw. 1. Margaret

Fig. 7. Arms of the City of Chester as they are drawn on the Charter of Elizabeth's reign: but by an artist who in his dimidiation gave to the lions more than "the lion's share" according to the most correct rules of Dimidiation. Good Heraldic authorities (who) have them truly.

for the purpose, in token of his resolve to make good his engagements by his sword. The true explanation of which is, that a cross was often stamped upon the sword *hilt* to awaken the faith, and remind the warrior of his sacred obligations in the hour of battle; and this cross on the pommel might have been sometimes used by the warrior to seal with, (the cross having been from the earliest times a favourite device).

Fig. 5—Is a seal sent to me by Mr. Marsh, as the seal of the Spital at Boughton. The writing is *Sigillum . . . Beate Marie de Boythun;* but the Church of the Spital was dedicated to St. Giles (like most of such hospitals), not to St. Mary, and it evidently belongs to some other establishment.

Fig. 6—Is the seal of Richard II. who made the City of Chester a Principality, a privilege abolished by his successor. It is introduced here out of the archives of the city, in proof of what is well known, that the *fleurs de lys* were not yet reduced to three.

Fig. 7—The city arms are given with the supporters granted by Flower, in order to shew the true position of the sword, which is often inserted within the shield, quite contrary to the position assigned to it by authority of the College of Heralds. The lions should be properly dimidiated, though there is sufficient justification for making three of their legs visible on the dexter half instead of two, the "lions' share" being proverbial everywhere, and so drawn by Flower himself.

I may here observe that the grant of arms to the city of Chester has several endorsements on the back, as follow:—"A confirmacion of the creste and supporters to the auncient arms of the city given by King Richard II. but confirmed 1580." "Confirmed by St. George on my visitation, 1613." "Ensigns armorial, or bearings, commonly called arms, were first granted to the City of Chester by King Edward III. in the mayoralty of William Brickhill, A.D. 1329." "These bearings were re-granted and confirmed, and a city sword given, by King Richard II. in the mayoralty of John Armourer, A.D. 1394."—W. C.

A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society,

FROM MIDSUMMER, 1850, TO JANUARY, 1852.

On Monday, July 3rd, the Liverpool Architectural Society visited Chester, and were counted for the day as members of the Chester Association. They attended the ten o'clock service at the Cathedral together, and were afterwards escorted through the building by the Rev. Canon Slade, who explained many of its architectural features, and left others open to discussion for the evening meeting. The indications of a previous structure at the east end of the north aisle were not satisfactorily made out by the company. Mr. Ashpitel's idea that the tracery in the windows of the north aisle were of their original form was disallowed, though the main outline might be the same. A desire was expressed that Mr. Hussey's opinion on the previous position and style of the several parts of the edifice might be obtained.* The party next proceeded to St. John's Church, and partook of refreshment at the Vicar's. His consent was given to ascertain some points of doubt within the ancient chancel by excavation, and great fears were expressed that the beautiful Norman arch might fall to ruin, if not in some way protected from the penetration of the wet. Much horror was expressed at the pewing of the Church, which was as inconvenient as it was hideous; but it was intimated that the Marquess of Westminster (as patron) had repeatedly spoken of remodelling the interior, and restoring it, as far as possible, to its original beauty, if the parishioners should appear to take any interest in the object. (The great mass of the people, at least of the educated portion who pay rates, have repeatedly expressed regret at such a state of things. Where could there be a nobler Church, if restored, or one better fitted for public occasions of solemnity? The proposal for a rival Cathedral near to the site of St. John's could not but be looked on as a natural consequence, and stern rebuke from heaven,

* This has been kindly given by Mr. Hussey, and will be printed in a future volume.

"*Fas est et ab hoste Doceri.*") A general scheme of restoration, by Mr. Harrison, was exhibited. It was agreed that, as there was no western entrance to the Church, the arrangement followed in the Temple Church (without any open central passage) would be most suitable, as it would shew the massive pillars (standing in the aisles) to their very base, and give a full view of the double galleries of triforium, which are so elegant and peculiar to the Church.

The company afterwards visited the several antique remains in the city, and, at seven o'clock in the evening, met in great numbers at the City Library, where the Very Rev. the Dean presided. The Rev. Canon Slade exhibited a curious snuff-box, and gave the details of a remarkable anecdote connected with it, as it had been presented by Charles II. to an ancestor of his—a Mrs. Lane—before whom the King, on a critical occasion, rode on horseback, in the character of a servant, and so beguiled his pursuers. He quoted many points of interest from the Boscobel Tracts in reference to the subject.

Mr. W. Ayrton next continued his paper on the Norman remains of the Cathedral, which has been already published, with its accurate and picturesque illustrations. An animated discussion took place on the Norman vault recently opened on the west side of the cloisters, Mr. Picton (President of the Liverpool Architectural Society) regarding it as an ambulatory for the Monks, forming part of the cloisters; and Mr. Massie considering it as altogether distinct, and separated by main divisions from the cloisters. It has since been supposed to be the ancient "*hospitium*" of the monastery. The Rev. Wm. Massie closed the proceedings with a general description of the Roman antiquities of Chester, adducing evidence against the commonly received notion of the "Rows," and "the underground passages" in the city, derived from recent excavations. A thorough investigation of one of the latter had been made by the Society in Grosvenor-street.

Thus ended a most agreeable and intellectual meeting, which, it was hoped, might be a forerunner of many others, and an encouragement to co-operation among other societies, locally divided.

At a meeting held at the City Library on Monday, August 5th, the Mayor presiding, the Rev. Chancellor Raikes read a paper on St. John's Church, which will be found printed at length in this volume; as will also a lecture given on the same evening by the Rev. Wm. Massie, on the general history of seals, with reference to the choice of a device for the Society. The recent erection of the "County Arms," on the pediment of the Asylum was criticised by the lecturer. A large collection of casts

from the Warrington Museum, sent by favour of Mr. W. Beamont, was exhibited. Finally an architectural plan of the present remains of Wervin Chapel, by Mr. Jas. Harrison, and a sketch of the ruins, formed the subject of a short paper by Mr. W. Ayrton.

At a meeting held at the same place and hour on Monday, Sept. the 5th, the Rev. the Chancellor presiding, a first lecture on timbered houses was given by Mr. T. Penson. He confined himself to a general outline of the history of architecture in this country from its Norman castles to its Tudor and half-timbered dwelling-houses,—promising to illustrate the subject in a future lecture by many examples, still remaining. The only illustration he has, however, added since that time is a practical one, in the judicious restoration of a house and shop in Eastgate-street for Mr. Platt, to whom the thanks of the Society were voted, for giving the architect such an opportunity. An interesting discussion afterwards took place between Mr. H. Brown, Mr. Penson, Rev. W. Gleadowe, Canon Blomfield, and others, on the origin of the pointed arch, which Mr. Massie considered as arising from necessities of structure in the groining of churches. Admiral Sir W. Dillon exhibited the medal struck in commemoration of the Congress lately held at Manchester (by the British Archæological Association), which had on one side the arms of the borough, on the other a hand pouring oil from a phial into a burning lamp. Strong hopes were expressed that such a reconciliation might be brought about between that body and the Institute as would at all events relieve persons, who joined either, from a feeling that he was connecting himself with a rival party, a feeling which acted doubtless as a hindrance to both.

At a meeting held in the Commercial News Room on October the 7th, Mr. Calveley Hordern was thanked for his drawings of licht gates at Rostherne, and of sundry other antiquities in that neighbourhood. A Sub-Committee was appointed to superintend the printing and editing of the Journal. A vote of thanks was passed also to the subscribers to the Commercial Room, for the liberal offer of their large apartment as a lecture-room to the Society, and the proprietors were invited to attend the monthly meetings. For further account of the proceedings, we quote the full report given in the *Chester Courant* of Oct 9, 1852:—

"ARCHÆOLOGICAL, ARCHITECTURAL, AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.—The monthly meeting of this Society was held in the Commercial News Room, in this city, on Monday evening last. The storminess of the night did

not deter the Marquess of Westminster from coming over from Eaton, as patron of an Association in which persons of all classes and parties seem to take an increasing interest. The Chancellor read a letter from J. D. Hinchcliffe, Esq. who liberally presented to the Society 3 folio vols. of the Vitruvius Britannicus, in which (by the way) is an exact architectural plan and elevation of the old Eaton Hall, as it stood in the days of Sir Richard Grosvenor. The first paper read was by the Rev. Canon Blomfield, on the general subject of coins, as an archæological study. He began by pointing out the assistance derived from the symbols, dates, and legends upon coins, by the astronomer as well as the historian, which he exemplified by a medal representing the great comet which was thought by the Romans to have predicted the death of their Emperor Augustus, and from which Halley was enabled to determine the cycle of its return; and again by the coins of Vespasian, which commemorate and bring before us as a fact registered in gold and silver by the Conqueror himself, the taking of Jerusalem, a female weeping at the foot of a palm tree, with the legend, 'Judea capta.' In speaking of the date when *stamped coin* began to be used in the world, he assigned the invention to about 600 B.C. though silver and gold, in form of dice and rings, were given by weight in barter and exchange for goods long before that period, as we read in the history of Abraham. This was delineated in a picture found within some of the buildings of Egypt, said by Wilkinson to be as old as the age of Abraham. He gave an outline of the history of the Greek mint, and thence passed on to the early large pound weight brass of Rome, until they settled down into the imperial coins so commonly found everywhere, called first, second, and third brasses, answering in size to our own penny, halfpenny, and farthing. He accounted for the great multitude of these found in excavations, wherever Romans had dwelt, by the want of any paper medium, and by the fact of wages and purchases being paid in small copper pieces, especially to the soldiers, which would render them obviously common. Mr. John Morris had lent many of the best specimens out of his valuable collection for exhibition, such as "the sons of Brutus," a singular one relating to the sewerage of Rome, also the Roman prototype of the Britannia on our pence, and sundry others, good drawings of which had also been made on large paper, though not quite large and coarse enough to be seen distinctly at a distance, a point most essential to the clearness of a lecture. Mr. Blomfield ended his very interesting paper by expressing a wish that Mr. Gardner would follow up the subject with the English coinage, to which he had long given much attention, and on which he had written copious notes. Mr. James Harrison afterwards exhibited complete and accurate drawings of the tower and spire of Davenham Church, one of the best and of the most perfect proportion in Cheshire. The form of the moldings and other details had also been taken in full size, so that if the

original perishes (an event too likely), it will have left an *impression* of itself at all events, such as may readily be copied; and it is hoped that the parishioners and landowners will feel too warm an interest in what has long been the central mark of the county, and the admiration of all lovers of architecture, to let this venerable structure pass away without an effort to restore it.* The News Room is well adapted for the purpose of lectures, and the liberality of the proprietors in lending it was fully appreciated."

At a meeting held at the Commercial Reading Room on the first Monday in November, the Mayor presiding, the Rev. Canon Blomfield continued his lecture on coins, with a great variety of admirable illustrations, being one of the most interesting and popular lectures given. The Secretary exhibited and explained the device adopted for the common seal of the Society, as drawn by Mr. W. O. Harling, from a general outline chosen by the Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose. The various swords of Chester, at present kept at the British Museum, were described. The floriated pattern on the seal was taken from the mother of pearl pommel of the one assigned to Hugh Lupus, as being appropriate to Chester. The blade of that sword is evidently genuine, with its inscribed letters, though the handle has been at various times renewed. Fuller particulars will be found in the appendix to the paper on seals.—*(Vide* figure 3, page 180.)

At a meeting held at the same place and hour on the first Monday in December, the Rev. Chancellor presiding, Mr. Wm. Harling gave a first lecture on Sculpture, confining himself to the Egyptian style, but promising to continue his remarks hereafter through the classical and mediæval periods. The Chancellor, in thanking Mr. Harling, with his usual readiness in recollecting apt examples and applying them to a good object, mentioned a singular instance of the key to ancient history afforded by the sculpture and monumental remains of the East. Herodotus ascribes the sudden retreat of Sennacherib from before Jerusalem to the gnawing of his soldiers' bowstrings by mice; but it has been now proved that the mouse in hieroglyphics is the emblem of mystery, and no doubt the ancient historian had, like many other travellers, hastily jumped to conclusions, from some inscription on their pillars, recording under the figure of a mouse the mysterious way in which Pro-

* The tower and spire have now been restored in a manner that reflects the highest credit on the parishioners, the Rector, and all parties connected with the work,

vidence had broken up the camp of Sennacherib, as described in holy writ. An animated discussion afterwards took place on monuments in general, and in the New Cemetery in particular, the Chancellor rather advocating a classical style of memorial as by no means inadmissible, and as perhaps more appropriate to the garden and dressy character of the ground; he would even have preferred a Grecian building to the present Gothic chapel. Mr. Massie took the other view, as according more with the sympathies of the people, and as enlisting the feeling of association in favour of the Cemetery; and as for the memorial stones, he would not venture to say how far the most hope-inspiring form could safely be adopted in these days, but, if safe, (which was his own *opinion*,) nothing could more simply express the ground of a Christian's hope of re-union than the one recommended in an early paper of the Society.* Mr. Gleadowe and others took part in the conversation, and the meeting broke up before nine o'clock.

1851.

At a meeting held on the first Monday in January, it was ordered that copies of the journal not exceeding fifty should be distributed to the various kindred societies. The Rev. J. Haworth, Mr. W. Harling, and Mr. S. Davies were appointed auditors of the last year's accounts. Mr. Beamont, of Warrington, read a paper on the Battle of Blore Heath, where so many of the Cheshire gentry fell with their commander, Lord Audley, in the cause of Queen Margaret, A.D. 1459. The paper is given at full length in the present volume. Mr. W. Harling continued his lecture on Sculpture, through the Egyptian, Assyrian, Xanthian, and Grecian stages. After recapitulating his former remarks on the stiff and formal character of Egyptian sculpture, without curve, anatomy, grouping, or any attempt to express motion, which they seem to have avoided as unsuitable to the dignity of their subject, or the nature of their material, he passed on to the Assyrian style. This he regarded as the source whence Greece drew its taste for the study of nature, as it derived from Egypt the severe and simple features of the art. Yet few were the relics of Assyrian sculpture until Layard pitched his tent on the plains, under which that long departed dynasty lay buried. It was left for him to supply the continuity of history, interrupted for the space of 2,000 years. Two distinct periods of Assyrian sculpture as well as empire are manifest now—one of which appears to have been so completely past before the other appeared, that none of their buildings even were contemporaneous,

* In Mr. Hicklin's remarks on monumental crosses.

or the older ones only existed during the later period, just as the relics of Rome in England are archæological subjects here now. Mr. Harling, however, thought he could mark the traces of Assyrian taste on the Egyptian style as early as fourteen centuries before Christ, which was during the earlier stage. He noted the same era as a period remarkable for great changes and interchanges, and consequent communication of science from one nation to another, over the known world. The Assyrian element, as distinct from the Egyptian, appears in an effort to copy nature, to display the muscles, to form combinations, and exhibit pictures in perspective, although false. There is still, however, no play of countenance, no passion or emotion aimed at, though the most elaborate ornament, in dress and furniture, is prominent in every detail. The Xanthian marbles were then referred to, and illustrations given, as the link of connexion between Assyria and Persia, Persia and Asia Minor, Asia Minor and Greece. As to the carvings at Persepolis, they could only be regarded as *imitations* of preceding styles, copied from Assyrian and Egyptian remains. Thus the Xanthian marbles introduce us to the purer Greek, which, under a happy sky and free institutions of polity and science, combined the former beauties all in one, culling sublime simplicity from this, and natural symmetry from that, and adding its own ingredient of freedom, emotion, grouping, and contour. Presently the simultaneous advance of philosophy and art, in all its branches, contributed to bring the sculpture of Greece to its mature age, while the display of the person in athletic games, and the erection of statues in honour of the victor, helped the forward movement with marvellous rapidity to that perfection, which Mr. Harling promised to make the subject of a future paper. The style of the lecture was highly finished, and the drawings bold and excellent. It is subject of regret that the removal of Mr. Harling to a distance from Chester has deprived the Society of this benefit.

At a meeting in February, a volume, called "Materials for History," was ordered to be purchased. In the evening the Mayor presided, when the subject for discussion was "Bangor Monachorum," which was undertaken by the Rev. W. Massie, to supply the place of a paper, which had been expected from another party unavoidably absent. He commenced with an apology for seeming to give up any time to such pursuits when there were duties of so much higher importance to attend to, and objects more worthy of laborious research. But the fact was, he did not pretend to much research; he left *that* to others, more professionally competent, and whose calling might more particularly induce them to such studies. He, for *his* part, could merely deliver at the moment, without much pre-

paration, the result of long observation in and about Chester from the earliest rambles of his boyhood. In fact archæology was to many a relaxation to the mind after the burdens of the day; and he felt (with Richard of Cirencester) that occasional leisure and refreshment should not be grudged to the clergy or any one else. Some found pleasure in one thing and some in another, and his amusement it was to trace the facts of history, and the local details on which the accurate view of history so materially depended. It appeared to him marvellous that people should live in Chester, within 10 or 15 miles from a place like Bangor, the scene of the most deeply interesting event in the early annals of the British Church,—where the first great aggression on its independent state was made by Augustine, legate of Rome, 1250 years ago—and have that event so fully authenticated by Bede 200 years after the first siege of Chester and the massacre of the Abbot and his thousand priests,—and yet pass continually near to the very spot, and dwell upon the ground, and be so devoid of rational observation and reflection as to neither inquire nor care about the matter. After enumerating the many undoubted proofs of a British Episcopal Church prior to Augustine, and its use of the Gallican, not the Romish offices, he allowed, at the same time, the charitable motives of Gregory's interposition to convert the Saxons, and the eventual absorption of the British Church as well as kingdom into the Saxon institutions. The whole story, however, as told by Bede, betrayed even *then* the same grasping, ambitious, persecuting spirit in the treatment of the British Bishops by Augustine, and in the consequent destruction of the Monks of Bangor by the temporal sword, as had prompted the imperious Wiseman to say, "We govern and shall govern" in these realms. He next endeavoured to fix the site of the ancient Banchorium and Bonium, and to reconcile the apparent inconsistencies of the ancient itineraries by supposing two Mediolanums, each within two marches from Chester, the one in North Wales, the other near Madeley, perhaps at Chesterton, in Staffordshire. The Roman road from Chester was traced in a direct line over the river below the old bridge, past Edgar's Cave, along the Eaton road, across the ford at Aldford in a direct line to Shocklach, reaching Banchorium by a slight angle, to avoid the bend of the river. The inquiry was next directed to the remains and tokens of any great monastery at Bangor, the absence of which he accounted for by supposing that the colleges were of timber, shewing from Bede that in the year 550 the building of a stone church was reckoned a rare and wondrous undertaking. If the descriptions of Malmesbury, Leland, and others were relied on as to the existence of ruins there in those days, then they must conclude that the ever-changing bed of the river Dee, until embanked, had buried the remains some depth under the soil.

The Chancellor was, however, disposed to attribute these statements of

Leland only to notions gathered from tradition, and perhaps from the names Porth Hogan and Porth Cleis, still preserved on the opposite edges of the valley.

The small but not very ancient cross found in the bed of the river, and now preserved in Mr. Luxmore's garden, was exhibited in drawing, as well as a panorama of the whole circuit of country, with the church and bridge of Bangor in the centre, between the two heights of Porth Hogan and Porth Cleis; and also a large map of all the Roman roads round Chester. A droll attempt to impose on the credulity of the Society by an unknown wag at Bangor, not very expert in the mysteries of archæology, afforded some amusement to the meeting.

At a meeting in March "Parry's Royal Visits" was ordered; also 150 of Ackermann's Directions for Preservation of Antiquities were purchased for distribution to the members. Plans of Davenham tower and church were paid for. In the evening the Rev. the Chancellor opened the proceedings with a few prefatory remarks on the subject proposed for discussion, "The Election of Knights of the Shire." He disclaimed, on the part of the Society, all connexion with any party, but expressed a readiness to receive and hear whatever might tend to exhibit the manners of our forefathers, or the prevailing bias of feeling at any period of the country's history, whether on one side or the other. It was in this spirit and with this object that Sir Philip Egerton had kindly communicated the fruit of his researches out of the stores of original documents in his possession. The coarseness, the bigotry, the licentiousness, or superstition which might characterize either word or deed of the actors in those scenes he recognised as so many beacons of warning to ourselves and to generations following. Mr. W. Ayrton, one of the Secretaries to the Society, then read the paper communicated by Sir P. Egerton, on the Election of Knights for the Shire from 1657 to 1701, which contained a number of authentic records of the enthusiasm of the Tory party during the latter years of the Commonwealth to the reign of Queen Anne, which fully served to account for the epithets still attaching to the "ancient and *loyal* City of Chester." The evidence, however, all tended to show that both sides were in those days actuated by impulse and instinct rather than by dispassionate reason. The paper is printed at length in this volume. In illustration of it, a picture on a large scale, taken from a print of the date referred to, was exhibited, shewing the spire of St. Peter's, the base of the old Cross on the steps, the Pentice against the south side of the Church, and the old black and white buildings on each side. An elevation of the ancient Cross itself was also drawn, part of which still remains in the

garden at Netherlegh.—The Chancellor next read a paper, forwarded by the Rev. Mr. Piccope, on pews. The writer complained of the unfair manner in which the blame of the present exclusive system of pews had been fastened on a particular party in the land. He brought evidence from the Consistory Courts to shew that prescriptive rights to family pews had been asserted and proved, from a period far more remote than was usually supposed; and drew the just inference, that neither politics nor religion had anything to do with the usage which had gradually prevailed, but that it must be ascribed rather to the selfish, encroaching, and exclusive tendencies of human nature, which, unless checked by a wholesome restraint, will always manifest themselves under any circumstances of society. The Chancellor concluded by calling on the meeting for an expression of thanks to the authors of the papers, and regretted the unavoidable absence of both, as it must be allowed to be a most difficult undertaking to read effectively what others had written.

At a Council Meeting held on March 21st, the accounts for the year ending 1849 to 1850, were duly audited, and a report was drawn up to be laid before the general meeting. An amendment of a rule proposed "at a former meeting" was agreed to, and drawn up for recommendation to the annual assembly, which afterwards confirmed it, "That the authors of any paper printed in the Journal may receive 25 copies of his own paper gratis, or, in lieu thereof, five copies of the whole Journal."

At a general meeting of subscribers, duly convened at the Committee-room of the City Library on April 7th, at twelve o'clock, the Rev. Canon Eaton in the chair, the accounts were passed and ordered to be printed. Council and officers were appointed, viz. :—

OFFICERS THE SAME AS IN THE YEAR BEFORE.

COUNCIL.

ARCHITECTURAL—Messrs. Royle, Baylis, Hodkinson, Penson, Morris.

LAY MEMBERS—Dr. McEwen, H. Brown, T. Catherall, J. Williams, Sir E. Walker.

CLERICAL DO.—Revds. D. Broughton, J. Haworth, W. Harrison, R. Wickham, and R. W. Gleadowe.

Robt. Mascie Taylor and T. Pullan accepted the office of Curators.

The further account of the proceedings is quoted from the *Courant* of April 9, 1851 :—

"A summary of the proceedings of the Society since its establishment, the state of its finances, and its prospects, was laid before the meeting.

The report speaks most favourably for the Society in having already achieved so many of the ends proposed at its formation, and for the unwearied energy of the officers by whom it has so far been conducted. It appears that in addition to numerous works of science purchased, many local sites of antiquity explored, and a constant succession of interesting lectures delivered since its commencement, it has published, and placed in the hands of each member free of cost, the first number of its Journal, and presented to its full members a copy of the British Archæological Association's transactions at the Chester Congress of 1849, without calling on members for any additional subscription, and is now in a condition to proceed with its second volume, and add to the nucleus of its commenced museum. At the same time it appears that the annual receipts are but barely equal to the annual expenditure—taking into consideration the printing and illustrating of the Journal, expenses of the lectures, &c. &c.; and in order fully to carry out the intentions of the Society, to enable it to form a collection of drawings, books, models, local curiosities and remains, its revenue must be increased by an increased number of members; nor do we doubt that the call made by the Society, and their claim on the assistance of the gentry of the city and county will be freely responded to. Hitherto no such call has been made; but the Society now feel that they have done enough to warrant them in such an appeal, and the invitation to become a member of such a body can hardly, we should think, fail of acceptance from any Cheshire gentleman of education or of family, who takes pride in his native county.

The monthly meeting was held the same evening, at the Albion Assembly-room, under the presidency of the Rev. Chancellor Raikes; and a very interesting collection of drawings, prints, illustrations, curious books, &c. &c. was got together by the Council, and exhibited to the members and their friends. On this occasion a very liberal supply of tickets for strangers and visitors was placed at the disposal of the members, and, judging from the numbers who attended, between three and four hundred, Archæology is no longer considered so very dry and abstruse in its pursuits as people once imagined. Among the articles exhibited, was a very interesting drawing of St. John's, belonging to the Marquis of Westminster—date about 1720; several curious prints and drawings belonging to Mr. Topham; an original MS. copy of Vale Royal; some rare books belonging to Mr. Bragge, among which were some very beautifully illuminated missals, &c. &c.; in short, we were surprised to see the spacious walls of the large assembly-room so completely covered with drawings and illustrations, all of them full of local interest, and many of them having for a lapse of years been lost sight of in the portfolios of their owners, and now coming forth to bring to the recollection of aged inhabitants scenes gone by, and assisting others in an idea of what Chester

or Cheshire once was. Maps, shewing the exact position of the long looked for tengate sluice, on which the settlement of the Dee question depended, immediately caught the eye of the watchful Mayor, J. Williams, Esq. who requested the loan of them. The result was the discovery of the apron of the sluice (that very night), from which the standard was originally measured by direction of the first Acts, and from which the Admiralty have now determined it again. The map is the property of Mr. Topham, of Castle-street, and another, very similar to it, belongs to the Society's Ecclesiastical Secretary.

The Rev. W. H. Massie afterwards lectured on the "Superstitions of Cheshire." He hoped that no one would come to visit the exhibition as a collection of beautiful pictures, but rather as an assortment of local illustrations, valuable not for their artistic merit, but for their being rare and interesting memorials of old buildings which are gone, and historical facts which would otherwise be forgotten. He entreated them also not to go away in disgust at some of their lectures, because they were dry, since the best and most important papers were often the most dry, as being the result of a close search into musty and dusty records which must needs be dry, even when most useful. The subject, however, of "Cheshire Superstitions" had been selected as being of general interest, and as having probably fallen within the experience of every one present, in some degree. He brought the subject within compass by limiting it to *bona fide* superstitions, as distinct from mere innocent and ancient customs, (such as mummers, blessing of the brine, sprinkling sand at weddings, &c.) which ought not to be ranked among mere superstitions, and which might form a lecture of themselves. He then pointed out the universality and antiquity of some of the commonest habits, illustrating the remark by the case of blessing when a person sneezed, which he had found even in India, and which is alluded to by Xenophon, and even by Homer, 800 years B.C. And he shewed how imbued the minds of men were with traditionary persuasions imbibed in early youth and transmitted from father to son unaltered. He classified these into healings, omens, prophecies, talismans or charms, astrology, witchery, &c. &c. The instances of the popular belief in the power of sympathetic remedies, which had come under his own notice, were numerously as well as humourously described: such as curing the frog in children's mouths by giving them a live frog to suck, applying the red bottle to the fork that lamed the man in order to heal the wounded man himself, staunching blood by charming and drying cloth steeped in the same blood. The perpetuation of such general notions he ascribed, in a great measure, to the study of 'Culpepper's Herbal' and 'Moore's Almanac,' which formed the chief part of many of the country people's libraries. In order to shew how deeply impregnated the mind of the uninstructed

classes were with such delusions, and what a powerful influence they exerted over them, exposing them to any impostor who might choose to practise on their credulity, he related a real conversation which had passed between himself and a mechanic in the country who had lost his little daughter, and, under the natural excitement of the anxious search, took up with every strange notion that presented itself, and had recourse to every superstitious means in order to discover her. The poor man's touching story supplied abundant opportunities of eliciting the belief in omens of death, consultation of wizards, the use of charms, and a variety of other notions of a like kind. Several of the legends peculiar to the county were introduced here and there. He concluded with a reference to the only true and sure way of counteracting the dangerous effect of superstition on the heart, viz. the inculcation from childhood of a higher and truly religious principle—a sense of the abiding presence of an almighty and overruling Power—who being with us, nothing need alarm us, and in whom if we trust indeed, neither life, nor death, nor any other creature, can separate us from His love, or stand between our souls and perfect peace. The advantage of this line of argument with the superstitious was, that it was entirely independent of the truth or falsehood of the superstitions believed,—and would equally hold good, where it might be impossible to convince the person that his persuasions were mere fancies of a bewildered brain. The lecture was illustrated with several spirited sketches from the pencil of Mr. W. Ayrton."

At a meeting held in May at the Commercial Room, the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester presiding, the Chancellor gave a lecture on the Domestic Architecture of the Ancients, which was listened to with unabated attention by the company. He remarked that the great public structures of antiquity, such as the Pyramids of Egypt, were monuments of the sacrifice of a people's comfort to national and regal exaltation, while the few records which remain of the furniture and construction of the homes of the ancients had naturally more interest for us, as giving some insight into their private and social habits. We trace with a degree of sympathy the sitting-rooms, and dining-halls, and porches, through which the members of the family had wandered—at Pompeii; the skeletons of the head of the house and his attendant escaping, by the garden door, with the valuables he most treasured in his grasp, while the females more timid remained to find a tomb in the secret apartments which they had fled to as a shelter. Hints might be gathered even now by our schools of design from the taste evinced in the decoration of their walls, as compared with the random adornments plastered without meaning over our own interior abodes. The little private

chapel with its altar, and the bath counted essential to every house, the under-ground flues used for warming the apartments with hot air, the Mosaic floors with their elegant devices instead of our modern carpets, gave one an idea of their domestic life perhaps more distinctly than long chapters read in books of history, and, had they been sooner brought to light, might have spared us much trouble and invention, as indeed they still may do. In illustration of these general remarks, he described the palaces discovered at Nineveh, remarking on their resemblance in general plan to the inexplicable ruins discovered in Central America; some of the vases there found bearing also the stamp of Etruscan art and pattern. A large drawing of the inner court of the house of Sallust, at Pompeii, was exhibited with its frescoed walls, its open skylight, and its reservoir for rain underneath, in the middle of the floor; the curtained door opening out of the hall into the many chambers round it, and the portico in front, where the visitors and clients waited till the master of the house was ready to give them audience. Ground plans were likewise shewn, particularly of one most extensive villa, first accidentally laid bare by the plough-share, and afterwards completely opened and examined, in the south of England. There the genuine chimney-place appeared in several rooms, which in the houses of Pompeii were wanting. A short discussion here followed on the sort of fire-place signified by Horace in his ode—"*Ligna super foco large reponas*," and the evident derivation of the English "chimney" from the Roman "*caminus*"—though these might certainly be quite consistent with the fact that the original chimney-breast is only found in the Roman villas of our northern climes. It would add much to the interest, if such discussions during the lecture were more frequent and extended. After a few words of thanks from the Dean for the instructive paper of the evening, the meeting broke up.

At a meeting held on the first Monday in June, it was announced that a sketching and exploring excursion would be made on July 7th, in the direction of Saighton, Beeston, and Bunbury, each member who might think proper to attend paying his own portion of the expense without drawing upon the funds of the Society. In reference to this plan, Mr. W. Ayrton read a paper on the above localities, which is printed at length in this volume, with various illustrations. Accordingly, on Monday, July 7th, a large party of the members set off early by rail to visit Bunbury, Beeston, and Peckforton. At Bunbury Church they were met by Mr. Beamont, Mr. Robson, Mr. Marsh, and some other members of the Warrington Society, and proceeded to make their remarks on the building in concert. The first subject of discussion was the tradition which has assigned the

earlier parts of this building to Sir Hugh Calveley, the celebrated warrior of the 14th century, so frequently mentioned by Froissart. Sir Hugh Calveley, on retiring from active life in 1386, founded a college at Bunbury, and according to Ormerod was buried in the chancel of the building which he himself erected. That he was buried in the chancel of Bunbury Church, which church he largely endowed, there is no doubt; but the only remaining parts of a decorated character are of rather earlier date than 1380; and it was contended by some of the literati present, that in all probability the building erected by Sir Hugh Calveley was the college, now wholly destroyed, and that the present building owes none of its parts to that great man. Sir H. Calveley's splendid tomb formed the subject of much dissertation, as did also that of Sir Hugh Beeston, and the screen of the Ridley Oratory, of the door of which some rubbings were taken. Much regret was expressed at the unseemly galleries and wooden boxes which so entirely disfigure this otherwise beautiful and very interesting church. The building is certainly one of the most interesting of its class in Cheshire; and is capable, under judicious restoration, of being made all that a lover of ecclesiastical architecture would wish to see it. After visiting the site of Sir Hugh Calveley's College, of which no remains exist, but which still retains the name, the party were invited to the Rectory by the Rev. Mr. Donkin, where a cold collation of most ample and substantial kind was found spread for their reception, and to which the archæologians did ample justice. The Society were indebted to Mr. Donkin not only for this liberal hospitality, but for his courteous kindness and attention to them during the day. At two o'clock the party proceeded to Beeston Castle, which was examined throughout; first the outer ballium, then the upper court—each eliciting much discussion and remark. At three, Mr. Ayrton read his paper on the Castle, in the gateway leading to the upper court. In this he alluded to the extreme dearth of historical records relative to all Norman Castles of this character, and of Beeston in particular. He gave a short sketch of Randle de Blondeville, sixth Earl of Chester, who built the castle in 1220; and following the history of the building during the time of its subsequent possessors, made the most of the scanty details which remain to us, until the wars of 1644-45, when it was finally demolished. The well in the upper ballium was then examined by the aid of candles and blue lights, which were lowered to its extreme depth (330 feet) by a line. About four the members set off to walk through the woods to Peckforton Castle, and were amply repaid by the extreme beauty of the scenery, and by the examination of the Castle, which is certainly one of the most beautiful examples of a modern castle built in this early style which the country can boast. The party reached Chester about nine o'clock, highly gratified with the proceedings of the day.

Fig. 1.



This monumental slab is the one alluded to by Mr Gardner from Mr Bruce's very complete account of the Roman Wall. p. 227 of his book. Dis Manibus. Anicius is here called, physician in Ordinary to the Cohort of Tungrians. —

Greek altar to Asterte found at Corbridge. to compare with fig. 3

Fig. 2.



Αστάρτης βωμον ἐπ' ὀνόγας

Pulcherᵉ

ανεθηκεν

The leaves are for ellipses.

For this also see Bruce's Roman Wall p. 337

Fig. 4.



Portion of the famous Corbridge lanx shewing that the Bargus or altar was not very large.

(To the Gods)
(ὑπὲρ σωτ) ΗΡΕΙΝ
(ὑπ) ΕΡΜΕΡΕΟΥ
ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ
ΙΑΤΡΟΣ
ΒΩΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝΔ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ

Fig. 3.



Dimensions on scale of 2 inches to a foot. base 15. in. front 12 in. wide.

3 in. 6 9 12 or 1 foot

The above Greek altar was found 8 feet deep in excavating for foundations behind the Exchange Chester in 1852. It is described at page opposite. It is in the Museum of the Society. WH.

Figs. 5. 6



2 coins Graeco-Roma — no of one series, of Amphissia shewing the transition from Σ to C in letter S.

A. Vivian C. AR Br. Mus.

Claudius

Fig. 7.



Legio vicesima valens victrix

Broken tile found beside the altar at fig. 3. behind Exchange Chester 1851.

Fig. 8.



A fragment of glazed earthen ware. the handle of a dark red ewer of large size found near to the same altar at Chester

At a meeting held on Monday, August 4th, the Mayor (J. Williams, Esq.) in the chair, a remarkably interesting and able lecture on the inscriptions which the Rev. C. Forster has discovered on the Rocks of Sinai, was delivered by the Rev. H. Raikes, Chancellor of the Diocese. The mode by which these memorable records of ancient days have been decyphered, was clearly explained, and further illustrated by tables of primitive alphabets; a well-executed map of the district, and a good drawing of the mountain gorge of Sinaitic rocks were also exhibited to exemplify the reverend lecturer's statements. It was ably argued, by a chain of most probable reasoning, that these inscriptions were the work of the Israelites, during their sojourn in the wilderness. After questions from the Rev. Canon Slade, and other members, Mr. Hicklin spoke at some length in confirmation of the views taken by the learned traveller, whose book had been made the subject of the Rev. Chancellor's masterly lecture.

The Rev. W. Massie was then called upon by the Chairman to explain some of the objects of antiquity which had been discovered since the last meeting. Time only allowed to dwell on two which were exhibited to the meeting, an altar and a seal, each bearing legends descriptive of their own purpose. The altar was dug up from a depth of eight feet in forming a cellar in the house of Mr. Jones, behind the Exchange, and was now, by his kindness, formally consigned to the museum of the Society. The upper portion of the stone was broken off, but the inscription, so far as it remained, ran thus :—

"ηρσιν . . ερμενεσιν ερμογενης ιατρος βωμον τονα ανεθηκα."

I, Hermogenes, a physician, have set up (this) altar to the preservers σωτ-ηρσιν. . . ερμενεσιν, the latter word being still obscure, as well as the word τονα. Some Roman tiles lay round it bearing the mark of the brigade stationed for 300 years at Chester, LEG.XX.VV. *i.e.* "The 20th Legion, Valiant, Victorious." Examples were brought to shew that the physicians attached to the Roman army were generally foreigners, as proved by several Greek inscriptions at Rome and elsewhere. Indeed Juvenal tells us that his "Græculus esuriens" was ready to undertake any office for a living, and among them that of "medicus." The Rev. Canon Slade adduced an instance to the same effect. Mr. Massie reminded the meeting that it was just such altars as these, with dedications to unknown gods, which St. Paul must have seen erected in the streets of Athens, and which furnished him with a striking argument to that people. On all other altars found at Chester hitherto the inscription has been in Latin.

The next object exhibited was a silver seal, discovered by some men working for Mr. Penson, architect, at Oswestry. It was of Early English

character, in form of the Vesica, and admirably graved. The legend round it was—

"S' HAWISIE DNE DE KEVEOLOC,"

The seal of Hawise, lady of Kevelioc. The principal figure was a lady in light costume, with the wimple or kerchief under the chin, and carrying in each hand a shield of arms. A drawing of it, with full account, will be found at page 161. Mr. Massie likewise presented to the Society the fragment of a winged figure, of Roman workmanship, apparently a Cupid, found in excavations in Duke-street, a drawing of which is given in the opposite page. The proceedings throughout excited the most lively interest.

At a meeting held on Monday, Sept. 1st, the Rev. Chancellor Raikes delivered an able and interesting lecture with reference to the Roman altar which had lately been discovered in Chester, bearing a Greek inscription, and exhibited by the Rev. W. Massie at the Society's last monthly meeting. The Chancellor instanced the preservation of this relic, which is perfectly unique of its kind, as an illustration of the Society's usefulness in preserving antiquities; as there is little doubt that had it been discovered by the workmen before this Institution had excited an intelligent appreciation of such remains, it would have been returned to its hiding place in the earth, and nothing more been heard of it. The history of altars, with the object of their construction, from the earliest period, was then clearly and eloquently stated; an example of a domestic altar, found at Chester, and another, which was brought by the Chancellor from Athens, being exhibited, for the purpose of exemplifying the reverend gentleman's statements. Respecting the particular altar in question, the Chancellor considered that it had been erected by one Hermogenes, a Greek physician to the Roman colony in Chester, as a votive offering of gratitude to those deities who were supposed to have preserved him in some time of trouble, probably during a tempestuous voyage to Britain; and he thence took occasion to notice the various characters whom history mentions as bearing the name of Hermogenes—one of whom was physician to the Emperor Hadrian. A letter on this subject was read from the Lord Bishop of Manchester, and J. Williams, Esq. Literary evidence from Greek epigrams and other sources was then adduced, to show the flippant ingratitude with which the world has always been disposed to treat a doctor's labours; and to demonstrate the fact, that medicine was not so much in repute among the Romans as among the Greeks, and hence the employment of the latter in the mysteries of the healing art by the masters of the world. In conclusion, the Chancellor dwelt with much emphasis upon the exhibition of

Fig. 1



A gold Torque: full size:
weight 13 dwt.
Dug up in St Werburgh St Chester
1852

Fig. 2.



A bronze, dug
out of the Thames

For comparison with Figs 3 & 4

Fig. 3



Fig. 4



WA.

A Stone fragment; from excavations in Duke St Chester 1851. Presented to the Society by the Revd W. H. Massie. Size of the figure when perfect - about two feet high

the religious principle, as manifested by the various altars set up by the votaries of Paganism, in acknowledgment of a Superintending Power; and while observing that such a principle, wherever found, always deserved veneration and esteem, he drew from it a forcible moral to quicken the piety and devotion of Christians, whose superior light and knowledge ought not to be put to shame by the zeal and earnestness of idolators, who erected altars to an unknown god, whom they ignorantly worshipped—thus practically illustrating the remark of the contemplative *Jaques*, that the thoughtful mind may find—

> "Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> *Sermons in stones*, and good in every thing."

Mr. Harrison exhibited some arch stones and capitals found imbedded in the walls of St. Michael's Church, from which the fact was established of an early Norman building having existed there, succeeded by another of later character, but long anterior to the perpendicular form in which it last appeared, immediately before its late removal and restoration.

The Rev. W. H. Massie exhibited a large Corinthian capital, dug up in Handbridge, with a silver coin of Trajan found under it, from which, together with the bases of some columns brought from a drain in Crook-street, and others from Commonhall-street and Stanley-street, he inferred the existence of a city of no mean character under the Roman sway. He thought it probable that the altar recently found had stood in front of a temple in some public place, as the word βωμος corresponded to the Latin "Altare," rather than the lesser "Ara;" and he pointed out the distinction between a mere "cippus," or commemorative pillar, and a genuine altar on which incense and blood were offered, the latter being universally distinguished by a cavity at the top, and some by an orifice on one side also. Many pictures from Pompeii, and representations on coins, shewed that the size of these altars was by no means necessarily large, but mostly such as the one now exhibited. It appears that a Greek inscription has been discovered on an altar at the Great Wall, and Mr. Gardner quoted from Mr. Bruce's work a Latin dedication to one Anicius, physician in ordinary to a cohort of the Tungrians, at the same place. Mr. Massie then proceeded to the explanation of some large drawings, representing two coins of Vespasian lately found, one of silver, in Commonhall-street, the other brass, in Cuppin-street. On the reverse of one of the coins the various instruments of sacrifice were stamped, which served to illustrate many points connected with the altar brought before the meeting, in reference to which he (Mr. Massie) offered a more complete interpretation, which had occurred to him since the last meeting; at first the word ερμενεσιν had been mistaken for ευμενισιν ("to the Eumenides or Furies,") but the letter ρ was quite distinct, and there were signs of

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OXFORD

the erasure of two letters at the beginning of the word, which made him consider how the gap could be supplied, and recollecting that the epithet ὑπερμενης was frequently applied to Jupiter in Homer, he concluded that it had been graven ὑπερμενεσιν originally. He thought also that the word TONA should be read TONΔ, as was common before ανεθηκα in inscriptions, of which the Rev. J. Delves Broughton adduced an example from the Anthologia, Ελλαδος ευρυχορου σωτηρες τονδ' ανεθηκαν: but it occurs *passim*. As to the word σωτηρσιν there could be no doubt about it, since it was perhaps the only dative terminating in ηρσιν in the Greek language. It would thus be construed, "I, Hermogenes, physician, set up this altar to the Saving and Almighty Deities." It was probably of Hadrian's age, by the form of some of the letters, the C being used for Σ generally at the beginning of the second century. Hermogenes is certainly spoken of as the physician of Hadrian in Dio Cassius, who relates that Hadrian directed the bondsman, Mastor, to stab him in a spot under the breast, which had been pointed out to him by the physician Hermogenes, as painlessly fatal; but when the man ran off in a fright the Emperor starved himself to death, crying out in words which have become a proverb. "It takes many doctors to kill a king!" (which some have otherwise paraphrased, "too many doctors will kill a cat!") It would, however, be building a large inference on somewhat bare evidence to conclude that this was the Hermogenes who set up this altar.—An animated discussion took place during the evening, as to whether there were doctors attached to the forces in those days; but the quotation by Mr. Gardner from the altar described in Mr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," seems to decide that point in the affirmative."

At a meeting held Oct. 7th, it was resolved that a Council Meeting should be called on the next Friday but one previous to the first Monday in each month, in order to arrange subjects for lectures on the latter date, and that members should be invited to offer their services in proposing matter for discussion. Mr. W. Ayrton called attention to the work going on at Gresford Church, and exhibited drawings of some remarkable and striking figures which form the alternate pinnacles of the tower (drawn in the plate opposite). As they were almost worn out with age, it was regretted that they could not be accurately copied in new stone while taken down for repair, and facsimiles, completely new, set up in their places. The original figures might still have been preserved and deposited for close inspection and perpetuation in the Crypt of the Chancel. The Venerable Archdeacon Wood read an interesting paper on the architecture and antiquities of Middlewich Church; the various changes through which the church has passed, from the tenth century down to the present time, were clearly



Grotesque Figures, forming intermediate pinnacles on the towver of Gresford Church.

defined and illustrated by plans and drawings; many remarkable memoranda, of great interest to antiquaries, were adduced; and the scattered facts, which the Archdeacon had collected from the parish registers with much care and discrimination, will become an important addition to our topographical sources of information. We cordially reiterate the hope, to which the Chancellor gave expression, that the example of the Archdeacon, in thus investigating the architecture and history of his church, may be followed by other clergymen, who would thus contribute a valuable fund of knowledge in illustration of archæological inquiries. Mr. Hicklin gave the first of an intended course of three lectures on the History of the Art of Printing, with practical illustrations, which appeared to excite a lively interest. The antiquities of the art were on this occasion more particularly dwelt on, and some specimens of early typography, which were introduced, were greatly admired. A large and interesting collection of coins and mosaics, brought by Mr. Robert Taylor from the site of the ancient Italica, Moorish wainscot tiles from Seville, and stucco-work from Grenada were exhibited, and examined with great pleasure and attention; Mr. Taylor kindly affording every explanation to inquiring members, and a confident hope being expressed that the Rev. Canon Blomfield would make the Roman coins, one of which, of an immense size, was a rare and remarkable specimen, the subject of a paper at some future meeting.

At a meeting held on the 3rd November, a lecture was given on Frescoes, a compendium of which is here quoted from the *Courant* of November 5:—

"On Monday evening last the monthly meeting of this Society was held as usual at the City Library. Notwithstanding the rain, the company was as large as the room could conveniently accommodate. The Rev. Mr. Massie gave a lecture on Church Decorations as illustrated by the paintings recently brought to light on the walls of Gawsworth Church. Several sketches of the Church and Parsonage were handed round the room. The lecturer commenced by stating that a history of the parish, with engravings of these pictures among others was in course of preparation for the benefit of a fund now raising to restore this beautiful church, under the best auspices; and that of course it must be their desire, as a Society, to promote so good a work, and to bring the object into notice by every encouraging means. He then described the paintings themselves, their present state, and the impressions left upon his mind on inspecting them. The questions—How they came there? Whether they were in all our churches? What their purpose was, and what their date? How they ever came to be covered up? and so on, were severally answered in the course of the lecture. He next described the process of painting on walls,

distinguishing between genuine fresco, and mere distemper which these are. The legend of St. Christopher was then told with all the particulars, which served to interpret the several little details in the picture, of the ship, the beacon, the staff, the globe in the child's hand, &c. The moral of the tale was contrasted with that of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. The next picture was that of St. George and the Dragon; the horse and figure being in fact as large as life. It was compared with that of Perseus and Andromeda, and with other stories signifying the triumph of truth and virtue over error and sin, as applied by Spenser in his Fairy Queen. The clothing of the Bishop George in panoply might perhaps be designed to express in picture to the eye what St. Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians described in words. The third painting was the last judgment, the several points of which were also elucidated. This was a most extraordinary scene, very characteristic of the times. He thought it must be assigned to the period when a Fitton was rector of the church, about 1490, who probably enlarged the chancel. The subject was wound up with a sketch of the *history* of such decorations in churches. He showed how the early objections of Jewish converts were gradually overruled when Pagans were in large numbers added to the Church, whose tastes were in favour of the arts; how the early symbols of the catacombs gradually extended further to the introduction of pictures and images; how they were condemned by one Council in 300 A.D. and yet still prevailed; were again forbidden in a second Council, and were then finally justified in another, about the year 780, from which time they continued to be encouraged, until injunctions were issued to the clergy at the Reformation to obliterate any which were superstitiously regarded by the people; those injunctions at the same time reserving a right to the ordinary to judge in any case, and forbidding individuals to take upon themselves authority to violate the sanctuary. It was accordingly by degrees only that the veil of whitewash was thrown over them, and texts of Scripture in black and red substituted. Passages from Chaucer, Shakspere, and old ballads were quoted, in which allusions occurred to the very general practice thus described.—Coloured drawings, half-size, had been produced by the Rev. C. Pratt, to whom the thanks of the meeting were recorded.*—Mr. William Ayrton afterwards exhibited a full-sized drawing of a singular figure found in the wall of a cellar in White

* It is subject for congratulation, that the greatest success has attended the above named efforts to restore the beautiful church at Gawsworth. It is substantially and elaborately carried out according to the original design, though subscriptions are still needed for a vestry and porch. The pamphlet is in the press, and facsimiles of the paintings are published by subscription with the lecture, as a commentary upon them. The produce is applied to the fund for restoration, which may induce any friend to such good works to put his name down for a copy by application to the Rev. E. Massie, Gawsworth.

Fig. 1



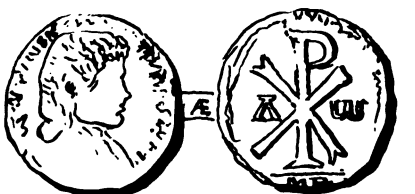
man figure of Paris: found in the
dations of a house in White Friars
Chester. Vide page 202.

Fig. 2



Stone cross at Bangor.
Restored to at page 190 as not very antique.

Fig. 3.



Coin of Magnentius: found at Chester
The monogram given here for comparison with
seal of Guthlac. page 159. Fig. 1.

Fig. 4.



Fig. 4. The Labarum or standard of Constantine adopted on his conversion, from the Cross seen in the sky, & motto "Hoc signo vinces". The monogram consists of the 3 first Greek letters of Christ. XPΣ. It is the constant Christian monogram in Catacombs. see fig 3. & page 159. fig. 1.

magnified from fig 5.

Fig. 5.



Reverse of a Coin of
Magnentius; found
at Chester. 1852.
Conventional outline of Victory
in right hand. Labarum in left

The accuracy of the costume makes the
above coin interesting. The obverse is
the same head as fig 3. - only perfect. -

Friars, now occupied by Mrs. Nicholson. He invited discussion on its character, himself leaning to the opinion of Mr. Roach Smith, that it was intended to represent Paris, as it was evidently Roman, with a shepherd's crook and the Phrygian cap, invariably assigned to him. Mr. Barker, with Mrs. Nicholson's permission, had given leave to examine the wall further, if any useful end could be gained by it. Mr. Ayrton likewise exhibited a golden torque, found in St. Werburgh-street, Chester, and drawn in figure 1 at page 198. The Rev. Wm. Massie exhibited two coins, lately found at Chester, both of Magnentius, one with a most perfect military costume on the reverse; the labarum, or Christian standard, held in one hand of the warrior, and a conventional image of victory in the other. The second coin shews the perfect monogram of the labarum at large, with the symbols of Christ, Alpha and Omega. He also produced a seal of the Stationers' Company, the phœnix, from which the tower on the Walls derives its name, as that Company formerly met there; and another seal of the Grey Friars, Chester.

"The Rev. Mr. Husband, being chairman for the evening, gave the customary thanks to the secretaries in the name of the meeting, which closed the business of the evening."

At a meeting held on the 1st December, a folio volume of autographs, selected by the late Mr. Richards from among the correspondence of the Corporation of Chester, was exhibited and placed at the service of the Society by his heir for closer search, through Mr. Alfred Potts. The contents of this volume may supply interesting material for discussion at some future meeting. Mr. Bowman's work of Specimens of Ecclesiastical Architecture was ordered to be purchased. For further proceedings we again quote from the *Courant* of December 3, 1851:—"The monthly meeting of this Society was held on Monday evening last, at the City Library, and was very numerously attended by the leading members, and many principal families of the city. The Marquis of Westminster presided; and the Rev. G. B. Blomfield, M.A. Canon of Chester Cathedral, gave a remarkably lucid and interesting topographical description of the original and present arrangements of the Abbey Buildings of St. Werburgh's, Chester. In illustration of his remarks, the Rev. Canon exhibited a well-executed plan, drawn to a large scale, on which were delineated the site of the ancient Abbey, and the buildings now standing. Some excellent drawings of the old chapel of St. Thomas (the present Deanery), and of the more remarkable antiquities of the Cathedral were also exhibited; and a very interesting representation of the western front of the Abbey Buildings, north and south of the great gate, as they appeared before the destruction of the monastery, was greatly admired, as a beautiful contri-

bution to our illustrations of local history; and there is no question that, as a matter of architectural taste, the Monkish structures gain greatly by comparison with the present appearance of Northgate-street. The result of the Rev. Canon's researches will no doubt form an important chapter in a future journal of the Society. At the close of the lecture, questions were asked and remarks made by the Noble Marquis, the Rev. W. H. Massie, and Mr. W. Ayrton; and Mr. Hicklin offered some observations in further elucidation of the subject, with a promise to revert to the matter at some future meeting.

In reference to some remarks of the lecturer on the state of MSS. and Abbey Deeds, the Rev. Wm. Massie took occasion to bring before so full and influential a meeting, the general subject of the county, city, and ecclesiastical records. Those of the city were as heaps of parchment in heaps of dust, and the others at least needed a more minute classification, by some person well qualified to make a digest and descriptive catalogue of them for easy reference. This could only be accomplished by uniting to employ an agent for a time with an adequate salary, and he had reason to suppose from a recent conversation with Mr. W. H. Brown, that a suggestion coming from the Society would not be ill received by the magistrates of both county and city; and it was well known that the Registrar had long been desirous of getting the wills arranged.

A Godfrey dagger, recently presented to the Society by Mr. W. Jenkins, was exhibited; and a short historical paper on the subject, with illustrations in reference to the Titus Oates plot, was read by Mr. W. Ayrton.

Mr. Ayrton then drew the attention of the meeting to the objectionable character of the new gas lamp now erecting on the Eastgate, which, though useful in itself, was suspended on a structure much like a "gallows," placed there "in *terrorem*" to scare away visitors, or ready for the next execution. (See fig. 6, p. 166, shewing a gallows as the Cestrian badge.)

Mr. Hicklin read a letter (addressed to him in another capacity) by the City Surveyor, disclaiming all responsibility in the matter, and suggested that from what he (Mr. H.) had seen of Mr. Highfield's good sense and good taste in another town, a conference with that gentleman might soon obviate all objections.

N.B.—These suggestions have secured something better for the Northgate.

The Marquis of Westminster, in closing the business of the evening, expressed with much force and eloquence the pleasure which his visit to the Society had afforded him, and paid a graceful compliment to the Rev. Canon Blomfield, whom he was sure the meeting would thank most cordially for the very able and interesting lecture on St. Werburgh's Abbey; and would recognise, with the same gratification as himself, the

services of the other gentlemen who had taken part in the proceedings. With reference to the practical point alluded to by Mr. Massie, he could only say that, if he had anything to do with the muniments of the county, as Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, he was ready to promote so desirable an object with all his heart, and to co-operate with any sub-committee of the Society immediately; and he had no doubt the other parties would be equally forward.

The Rev. Canon Blomfield then called the attention of the Society to a beautiful chorographic view of the City of Chester and its surrounding environs, executed with so much accuracy, that every house is distinctly marked out. The picture is executed in chromo-lithography, and published by Mr. Prichard, of this city; the clever artist is Mr. McGahey.

N.B.—In reference to the Records, we have it in our power to announce that the steps immediately taken, in accordance with the above suggestions, have ended in a complete revision of the catalogues, and a restoration to order of all the muniments belonging to the county, city, and registry. The result, as well as process by which so desirable an end has been attained will probably appear in a future volume, as well as Mr. Black's report to the Master of the Rolls.

At a committee meeting on the last Friday in December, 1851, R. P. Jones, Esq. M.D. in the chair, a communication was read from G. Ormerod, Esq. concerning the ancient Nunnery of St. Mary's, which is printed in the present volume. Thanks were voted to the esteemed historian of Cheshire for his assistance in promoting the objects of the Society; and the Secretaries were requested to prepare illustrations of the subject for the next monthly meeting in January, 1852.

At most of the foregoing meetings new members were elected, books, prints, and curiosities were received from time to time, and the thanks of the Society were voted accordingly.

To Mr. Ormerod, for his Miscellanea Palatina.
To Numismatic Society, for their papers.
To Roach Smith, for casts, pamphlets, &c. for his volume on Lymne, &c.
To Cambridge Antiquarian Society, for their publications.
To the Sussex Archæological Society, for their volumes.
To R. M. Taylor, for Moorish tiles, mosaics, and coins from Italica.
To W. Jenkins, for a Godfrey dagger.
To Calveley Hordern, for drawings of licht gate, tombs, &c.
To W. Hinchcliffe, for 3 vols. of Vitruvius Britannicus.
To Liverpool Historic Society, for casts and journals.
To C. Barnard, for 2 vols. of Chester mysteries, or plays.
To T. Catherall, for prints, etchings, &c. of Chester.
To Cambrian Society, for their journal, 2nd series.
To A. Dunkin, for report of Worcester Congress.

To Society of Northern Antiquaries, for sundry pamphlets.
To W. Marsh, of Warrington, for casts of Cheshire seals.
To W. E. Wynne, for casts of various seals.
To Capt. Smyth, for address to Royal Geographical Society.
To S. Brown, for sketches of sundry antiquarian subjects.
To R. Hussey (architect), for his valuable notes on Chester Cathedral.
To J. F. France, for coins of Charles and James.
To Moreton Wood, for extracts from Dugdale.
To E. Barry, for etchings.
To Rev. W. Massie, for fragment of a Roman figure in stone (a Cupid).
To — Jones, for an altar with Greek inscription.
To J. Pownall, for 8 volumes of Grose's Antiquities.

A gold torque, and sundry coins, &c. have been purchased by the Society, Bowman's Ecclesiastical Architecture, the publications of Architectural Societies, Materia Historica, and sundry other articles, and books of reference.

A great variety of relics, and other curiosities, too minute for particularization here, are also added to the collection from day to day.

Among the many articles, belonging to individual members as well as to the Society, produced at the last archæological and architectural exhibition in the Albion Room, Chester, we may note as worthy of record the following :—

	OWNER.
Oil painting of old outer gates of Chester Castle,	Topham, Castle-street.
Picture of Brereton, a brick mansion,	ditto
St. John's Church, with Woolstapler's Hall,	ditto
Old picture map of Chester, from Braun's Ancient Cities, 16th century,	ditto
Map of old Chester Castle, ground plan, 1645,	ditto
Watergate, Castle gate, Nunnery ruins, small prints,	ditto
Chimney in Tabley old Hall, and Holford Mill,	ditto
Interior of St. John's Church and ruins, prints,	ditto
Print of old Castle, Turner,	ditto
Stanlaw Abbey, Frodsham Castle, Norton Priory, Combermere Abbey,	ditto
Birkenhead Priory, Beeston Castle, Lyme Park (old), Poynton Lodge,	ditto
Coloured—Eastgate, Old Castle, Shire Hall, Castle gate, old house,	ditto
Prints—Shipgate, old St. Mary's, old Bridge gate, Bridge-street and St. Peter's spire,	ditto
Old Northgate, Bridge gate, Phœnix tower, old Andrew's shed, &c.	ditto
Small print of Castle and Shire Hall, and Bailey's etching of Bridge gate,	ditto
A large print of Castle and Tyler's tower, by Boydell,	ditto
Bridge-street in uproar, 1794—caricature,	ditto
A Speedy Method of getting out of the Spiritual Court,	ditto
Wybunbury—Brimstage, Woodland's house at Mere Chapel,	ditto

	OWNER.
Alderley, seat of Matthew Hale, window in Brereton Church,	Topham, Castle-street.
Old Eccleston Church, and sundry views of Moreton, Crewe, &c.	ditto
Stayley Bridge, Sandbach Cross as it once was—Alexander,	ditto
Cathedral (etching), King's school, vestibule, and interior of chapter house,	ditto
Interior of St. John's, chancel end; another ditto,	ditto
Large map of Chester, shewing tengate sluice at its first construction,	ditto
A smaller map, shewing the same, but ten years later,	W. H. Massie
MS. vols. original, 1610, possessions and dues of the Prince in Principality of Wales, Dukedom of Cornwall and of Lancaster, and Earldom of Chester,	Rev. R. Massie
MS. Visitations of Cheshire, with original corrections, in handwriting of Flower and Glover, 1580, arms tricked,	ditto
MS. original copy of the Vale Royal, very perfect,	ditto
Altar, figure of Cupid, bronze eagle, inscribed slab, (all Roman,)	W. H. Massie
Beeston Castle, large print, as of old (hypothetical),	W. Wardell
Large view of St. John and ruins, Cathedral ditto,	Rev. W. B. Marsden
Interior of a nunnery, old oil painting, bought at Chester,	Dr. Davies
Mancunium; and Eddisbury, its ground plan, &c.	W. Beamont
Large picture of St. John's ruins and Church, with Woolstapler's hall,	Marquess of Westminster
Splendid illuminated MS. of Pedigree of Hugh Lupus, vellum folio, prior to 1610, said to be from collections of Booth of Twemlow, and presented to the City Library,	City Library.
Large elevation of the Town-hall, Chester, as originally built—[With this still in existence, it will indeed be inexcusable if the contemplated repairs of the building (its parapet especially) are not carried out accordingly, at least as far as feasible or consistent with strength.]	Ellis Jones
Several large etchings of Chester, old Lamb-row, and St. Bride's especially,	Ellis Jones
Large water colours of old Runcorn Church, Saighton Hall, Waverton Church, and two views of Nantwich Church, very good,	Staunton, Chester

By the late Mr. Harrison, architect, presented by Miss Harrison to the Society:—Interior of old Castle yard; old Castle gates; interior of old Shire Hall, with its roof; St. Mary's Church and old Shire Hall; fine views of new Castle on both sides; also Castle gates,—all large coloured drawings, very good; Roman tesselated floor at the Lea, Shrewsbury.

It is hoped that every one in possession of treasures of local interest, like the above, will produce them for inspection and for record at the next exhibition.

FINIS.

CHESTER:
PRINTED AT THE COURANT OFFICE,
NORTHGATE STREET.

Part 3, pages 269-358
missing.



THE LATE REV. W. H. MASSIE,

RECTOR OF St MARY'S, CHESTER.

[Reduced from the original Photograph by Capt. Inglefield, Royal Artillery.]



GREEK VOTIVE ALTAR,

DUG UP IN NORTHGATE STREET, CHESTER.

On the Fragment of a Votive Altar

FOUND IN CHESTER.

BY THE LATE REV. CHANCELLOR RAIKES.

IN making an excavation for a deep sewer at the back of the Exchange in this city, in 1851, the workmen came to a large mass of stone, about three feet below the surface. At other times, a mass like this would have been at once broken into smaller pieces, in order to be removed more easily, or would have been thrust back into its original place, without thought or inquiry into its character. The interest, however, which has been awakened by the antiquarian researches emanating from our Society, has descended to all classes of the community, and quickened their attention to anything of unusual appearance. Whatever is brought to light is examined; and our common workmen seem aware that there may be a value even in the rubbish of a city, so ancient, and so rich in historical associations as this is.

On the present occasion we are indebted to the taste and intelligence of the men employed, for the preservation of a very curious and instructive relic of antiquity. The men saw that the stone had been formed into a regular shape. They discerned, also, on one face of it, letters regularly traced; and they at once raised it to the surface, reserved it for further examination, and sent notice to the Rev. W. H. Massie of the discovery they had made.

A very short inspection satisfied Mr. Massie as to the character of the relic. He saw that it was the lower part of a Votive Altar; and he was very soon able to decypher the inscription. So much as remained of it ran thus:—

". *ΗΡΣΙΝ
. . †ΕΡΜΕΝΕΣΙΝ
ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ
ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΒΩΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝΔ' ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ."

"To the preserving, almighty gods, I, Hermogenes, physician, have set up this altar."

*(σωτ)ηρσιν. †(υπ)ερμενεσιν. The bottom of the π is clearly distinguishable.

That inscription shewed that the altar had been dedicated by Hermogenes a physician; but the destruction of the upper part of the monument leaves some doubt as to the object of the dedication.* For reasons which I shall take the liberty of adding, I think it probable that Æsculapius and the preserving gods were named.

The chief and peculiar interest of the inscription, however, arises from the fact that the language employed is Greek, and the circumstance that such a language was made use of, and made use of by such a man, and of such a profession, gives rise to some remarks, which throw light on the early history of our ancient city.

I may say at once that the characters of the inscription are clearly formed, and, neither in shape or cutting, exhibit signs of that carelessness of execution, which marks the Greek inscriptions of the Lower Empire. The material is sandstone, which, of course, did not admit of any very correct or sharp outline; but the words are nevertheless easily legible.

The person who dedicates the altar is Hermogenes, a name which implies a Greek or Syrian origin; and a name, also, which agrees singularly with his profession, since there are two or three of that name who are recorded among the writers on medical subjects, and are noticed as such in Fabricius *Bibliotheca Græca*, one of whom is stated in particular to have been Physician to the Emperor Hadrian.

The notice of the profession of the individual by whom the altar is dedicated, in conjunction with the place where it is found, seems calculated to meet a question which has recently been agitated in some of our medical journals, viz., whether medical officers were attached to the legions, and formed part of the Roman army. It seems clear that no notice of any such officers occurs in what are called the classical authors; and their silence on the subject would lead us to suppose that none such existed. It might, therefore, be the case that, as the wounds to which the legionary soldiers were subject were less severe and of a more simple nature than those which occur in modern warfare, a simpler mode of treatment—such, for instance as Suwarrow permitted in the Russian army—was found sufficient; and that the hardy men formed under the iron discipline of the legion were taught to bind up their own wounds and to cure their own sicknesses, instead of looking for the assistance of a surgeon or physician.

But whatever might have been the case in the earlier periods of the Roman army, there can be no doubt that the system was substantially

* The altar, in its present imperfect state, measures 15½ inches square at the base, and 19 inches in height. It is the property of the Chester Archæological Society, and now forms part of its infant museum. Our honorary associate, Mr. Hawkins, has called the editors' attention to the fact that the last three lines of the inscription form an *hexameter verse*, shewing our Hermogenes to have been gifted with a poetic, as well as a devotional turn.

modified, and that medical officers afterwards formed part of their staff. Several inscriptions are extant in which physicians (*medici*) attached to cohorts are mentioned; and it is probable that when the legions, with their auxiliary cohorts, were stationed permanently in distant provinces, and when increased refinement had led all classes to depend more generally on medical assistance, the utility of the appointment was perceived, and it became part of the system.

It does not, however, appear from this inscription, that Hermogenes held any military rank, or was connected with the legion stationed in Chester. He was a physician, from his own statement; but whether he was attached to the suite of the Præfect—whether he was a general practitioner, or merely a man of letters travelling for observation, is not to be inferred with certainty. The mere fact, however, of his residence here, and of the use of the Greek language, is sufficient to shew that Chester must at that time have been a place of some importance, and of advanced civilization; and we are at liberty to infer, from the name of the individual, that whether he was one of the Hermogenes of whom we read in other places or not, he was a man of some note in his profession; and that Chester was then, as it has ever been since, honoured and benefited by including among its residents men eminent in the healing art.

The chief interest of the inscription, however, arises from the language made use of; and Greek inscriptions are so scarce in England, that the present relic forms a considerable accession to the list. Two are given by Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, one found at Corbridge, in Northumberland, the other at Lanchester, in Durham, and which may be assigned to the foreign cohorts stationed along the frontier line traced out by Hadrian and Severus; and there is another in the *Archæologia*, which was found at Corbridge, in the same county.*

Of those in Horsley, the first,† and which he considers as, with a slight exception, a solitary specimen, is an inscription like this, on a Votive Altar, dedicated to the Tyrian Hercules by the Priestess Diodora. It is known that Hercules was of old the tutelar deity of Tyre, and we may suppose that Diodora carried her own superstitions with her into the regions of the north; and as we also know, from the *Notitia Imperii*, that the *Ala prima Herculea* was stationed at Olenacum, or old Carlisle,‡ there seems an obvious connection between the inscription and its locality.

The other inscription in Horsley, which is on a similar altar, § has Latin

* For an illustration of this latter Corbridge altar, see plate opposite page 197 of this volume of the Journal; also at p. 338 of Bruce's *Roman Wall*.

† Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*, plate Durham, xxv., p. 293.

‡ Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*, Essay on the *Notitia*, 478.

§ Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*, plate Northumberland, cvi. p. 246.

on one side and Greek on the other, and the language employed may throw some light on our present subject. The inscription in its Greek form is

ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΗΡΙΑC
ΤΙΤΙΑΝΟC
ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟC

And it must be considered as a testimony of gratitude from the Tribune Titianus, on account of his preservation from some peril by land or water.

The word made use of on this occasion, and those which are given by Ormerod in his *History of Cheshire*. vol. i. p. 294, as having been found on an altar in Watergate-street, Chester,* seem capable of supplying the *hiatus* in the inscription which is our present subject. That inscription was

Fortunæ reduci
Æsculap(io) et saluti ejus, &c., &c.

"To returning Fortune, to Æsculapius, and to the.... of his health."

The combination of the two appears to include the sentiment which Hermogenes desired to convey: and the mention of Æsculapius, the god of medicine, together with the fact of preservation, either in a general sense, or in that of the recovery of health, justifies our assuming the name of Æsculapius as that which held the first place on the altar dedicated by his votary in Chester.† The following words, which name the preserving and very powerful gods, extend the scope of the vow to some other object, and may naturally direct our thoughts to those twin deities, Castor and Pollux, who bore that title, as supposed to regulate the fury of the storms at sea;—

"——— quorum simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit;
Defluit saxis agitatus humor
Concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes
Et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto
Unda recumbit."—*Horace, Lib.* 1, *Ode* 12, 27.

Pausing on these observations, and allowing the imagination to arrange them in a form which may at least seem probable, we might suppose that

*** This fine altar, an illustration of which accompanies the present paper, was discovered in 1779, near the site of what is now known as Stanley-place. Close by, also, the remains of a Roman hypocaust, pieces of broken tiles, pottery, &c., were brought to light. The altar was removed to Oulton Park, and, becoming the property of Sir P. de M. Grey Egerton, Bart., was by him presented in 1836, to the British Museum.**

† For a more extended notice of these Æsculapian offerings, the reader is referred to a memoir by Dr. Ormerod, the venerable historian of Cheshire, on the "Britannico-Roman roads connected with Venta Silurum." The memoir in question was read in 1851, before the Bristol Congress of the Archæological Institute, and is printed at large in their Bristol volume.



ALTAR FOUND AT BOUGHTON, 1821, PRESERVED AT EATON HALL.



ALTAR DISCOVERED IN WATERGATE STREET, CHESTER, 1779.

Hermogenes, an Asiatic Greek, a Physician, and—if not the very Hermogenes to whom the science was indebted for some of its earliest discoveries—one of the same family, the companion or follower of the Præfect of the Province, having escaped dangers at sea, which, to the navigators of that age, must have been greater than at present: and having accomplished a successful and distinguished course of practice in Cestria Legionis, signalized his piety and grateful feeling by dedicating this altar to divinities whom he had been taught to venerate, and to whose influence he ascribed his preservation from danger, his prosperity, and welfare.

If we pity the blindness which led him to ascribe this honour to those ideal beings who deserved it not, let us not refuse to respect the principle which prompted the act itself. The feeling of dependence on a higher power, whether for guidance or protection, and which leads man to look beyond himself for means that he does not possess, is a sentiment which elevates and ennobles his character. It is a sentiment which only needs increase of knowledge in order to become Christianity; and perhaps the piety evinced by this heathen may condemn the apathy of others, who, while enjoying the light of truth, have never felt in their hearts the gratitude that he expressed, either for the mercy they had themselves experienced, or for the mercy of which they had been made the instruments to others.

I admit that it is not possible to speak with certainty as to the date of this inscription, but as there is every reason to believe that the great Agricola must for a time have been stationed at Chester, we cannot forget that his biographer, in enumerating his various qualifications for office, does not omit his knowledge of the Greek language, and his familiarity with Greek literature, acquired through his residence at Massilia. We may therefore venture to imagine that our Hermogenes was the companion or follower of Agricola, that he may have shared with him in the perils of that expedition which carried the arms and power of Rome into the recesses of Anglesea, and that the altar may have been intended to commemorate his gratitude for the health and preservation he had enjoyed.

Every one who is familiar with the works of the ancients must be aware that altars such as these were frequently made use of for such a purpose, as well as for devotional services; and the altar discovered in Boughton in 1821, which is preserved at Eaton Hall, and which bears the dedication—

NYMPHIS ET FONTIBUS
LEG. XX.
V.V.

is a beautiful specimen of the form usually given to these votive memorials.

From the size of the present altar it must have been ill adapted for sacrifice in the usual manner; but Horace makes frequent mention of incense

being burnt, and of the blood of victims being sprinkled on domestic altars, and to such a purpose these altars might have been applied.

It followed, however, that their dedication to the services of heathen worship marked them out for mutilation or destruction when Christianity was established in the country. The altar at Eaton Hall was found buried several feet under the surface of the ground, and probably owes its perfect preservation to the care of some devotees of idolatry, who buried what they could not protect, and hid out of sight the object of their veneration.*

The present altar did not escape so well; but enough is left to enable us to ascertain its form, and to conjecture with confidence the whole residue of the inscription.

* It seems not improbable that the Roman colonists, when preparing finally to quit Britain, took the precaution first of all to bury these altars, rather than leave them to the tender mercies of their enemies, or be themselves encumbered with them on their homeward voyage.

On an ancient Gold Corslet discovered near Mold.

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

ANTIQUARIES generally are, not without reason, determined opponents of ghosts and ghost-seers. There are, however, exceptions to every rule, and the strange circumstance now about to be adduced is, haply, one of them. We have presented to us, in the present paper, a few details of a discovery, made 24 years ago, in a mound situate about a quarter of a mile from Mold, Flintshire, on the high road to Chester,—a discovery, perhaps, which is quite without a parallel in the annals of Cambria. And, first, let me disclaim all pretensions to originality in the remarks about to be offered. It is easy enough to flaunt about in borrowed plumes; but the merit of the discovery, let me once again say, is none of mine, nor, indeed, are the learned speculations concerning it.*

In our time, the thirst for gold carries thousands away from the shores of old England to the wilds of California, and the still less accessible backwoods of Australia—these are the Ophir of the present generation. But, centuries ago, ere yet the genius of Christianity cast its influence o'er the earth, our Celtic forefathers, unused to the dangers and difficulties of the sea, sought for and obtained the auriferous metal from their own native soil. Nor is this mere idle surmise; for independent of the ancient ornaments of gold continually revealing themselves to the eye of Archæology, we are not without some evidence that they may have been also the production of British mines. Wales possesses more than one old mine, which has evidently been worked, and for gold alone, in the most primitive

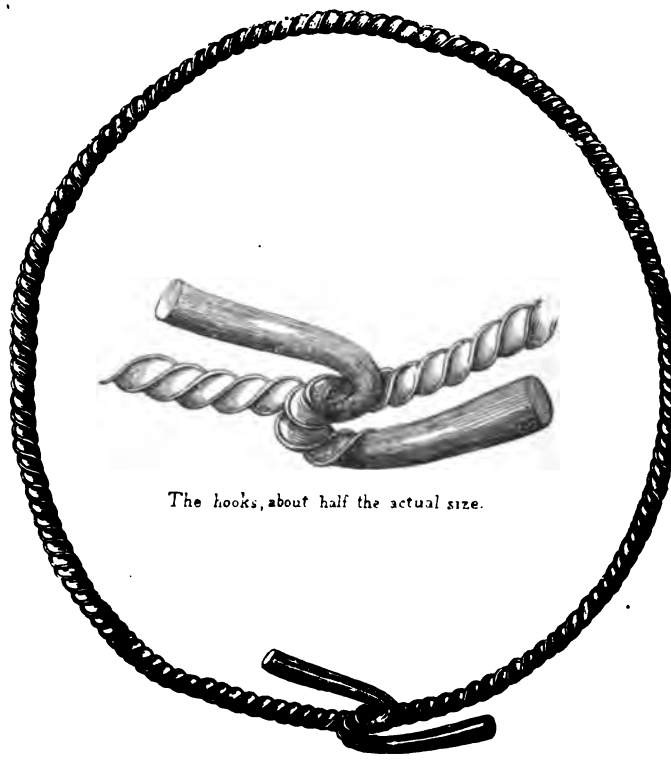
* The resources chiefly drawn upon in the preparation of this paper were the *Archæologia*, Vol. xxvi. p. 422, and the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, First Series, Vol. iii. pp. 98—104. The latter article is the production of a learned Welsh clergyman and antiquary, the Rev. J. Williams, now Vicar of Llanymowddwy, Merionethshire.

times.* In the vicinity of South Molton, in the county of Devon, there is an ancient mine, which had never been disturbed for at least a thousand years, and yet which must, at some remote period, have been worked for gold, inasmuch as the copper ore was cast aside, evidently as waste, and unworthy attention. A few years ago, while I was resident in Devonshire, a company was started, under flattering auspices, for testing anew the golden resources of this ancient mine. Simple archæologist as I was, I invested in a few shares, and forthwith dreamed of the splendid fortune possibly in store for me. But alas! for the vanity of human anticipations! I paid call after call, with the philosophy of a martyr, and though gold did certainly appear here and there among the quartz, it was in such homœopathic doses, that both calls and capital dwindled away, and, so far as we poor shareholders were concerned,

> **Like the baseless fabric of a vision**
> **Left not a wreck behind.**

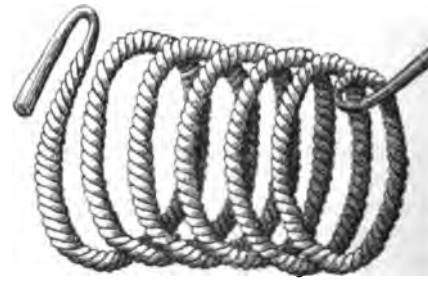
Whatever may be the case, however, in the present day, it scarcely admits of a doubt that the golden ornaments of our aboriginal ancestors were, in some part, the produce of British mines. Other metals, such as tin and lead, were certainly obtained in England, and in immense quantities, from the earliest times; for at the Chester Congress of the Archæological Association, in 1849, we find Mr. C. Roach Smith authoritatively telling us that "the Britons well understood the art of extracting tin and lead from their ores. These metals were among the chief articles of British commerce, which tempted the Romans to brave unknown seas and inhospitable shores, to carry roads over almost impassable morasses, walls over mountains, and, at a frightful sacrifice of human life and liberty, to hold possession of Britain divided from the world. In the time of Pliny, lead mines were worked in Spain and in Gaul; but the exportation of the metal from Britain was so plentiful, that it became necessary to restrict its supply from that province by legal enactment." If this were true of tin and lead, it is fair to surmise it was equally true, in a lesser proportion, of the higher metals also.

* The Cwtter Eurychod, near Nantffrancon, and the Gogofau mines, are two that may be quoted in proof of this hypothesis. The *Cambrian Journal*, in an article on this subject in Vol i., p. 154, declares that "the mineral discoveries, daily taking place in different localities, are clearly proving that the Snowdonian range of mountains, in Carnarvonshire, as well as in Merionethshire, contain within them gold and other mineral treasures that will produce results which, previous to the introduction of railways, no one could have anticipated. In sinking No. 3 pit of the Oakley mine, Merioneth, the men came upon a chamber of large dimensions, which appeared to be an old British or Roman work; and on clearing to the bottom, about two fathoms deep, they turned up some old timber, nails, &c., carefully kept, which proved that the place had been worked, and that for gold, as no other ores were visible in it but gold stones at the bottom and sides."



The hooks, about half the actual size.

GOLD TORQUES,
Circumference 44 inches, Weight very nearly 28 ounces. In the possession of the Marquis of Westminster.
[Found at Bryn Shon, near Holywell, Flintshire.]



GOLD ARMILLA,
Nearly half the actual length. In the possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart.
[Found in Cheshire.]

W.J. Bellars Del.

Ornaments of gold are not uncommonly found amongst Celtic remains, armillæ or torcs, fibulæ, bracelets, rings, and other articles, existing in almost every archæological collection. Perhaps the most celebrated and important in this locality is the elegant torc or necklace of solid gold, discovered near Holywell in 1816, and purchased by the late Marquis of Westminster for £400. This relic is preserved under a glass case in the Library at Eaton, and is an object of much curiosity to visitors.* Two beautiful armillæ or bracelets, also of gold, were dug up between Egerton Hall and Hampton, Cheshire, in 1829, and now embellish the private museum of Sir P. de M. Grey Egerton, Bart. M.P., at Oulton Park.† Other and similar instances might be quoted, as, for instance, the torc or ring discovered in St. Werburgh Street, Chester, in 1852, illustrated at page 198 of our Journal. But it is now time to proceed to the immediate subject of this paper. As before stated the whole matter hinges on a ghost story, the which has, however, strangely enough, turned out to be "an ower true tale."

On a farm, situate a short distance from the town of Mold, on the Chester road, stood, some 23 years ago, a gravel heap or hillock, known from time immemorial as Bryn-yr-Ellyllon (the Goblin's Hill); why or wherefore so designated was a mystery. Many years prior to 1833, as we learn from most reliable testimony, an old woman was returning from Mold, where she had been to fetch home her drunken husband from a tavern, and had to pass on her way this identical mound—the Goblin's Hill. It was about the midnight hour—

"The witching hour of night, sirs,"

that particular hour so sacred to ghosts and ghost seers, when lo! before the astonished gaze of the old lady a spectre of mammoth size appeared, "clothed in a raiment of gold which shone like the sun," and, crossing the road before her with measured step, rested an instant on the fairy mound aforesaid, and then vanished into thin air! Full of affright, she hurried home her "inferior half," and the next morning related the wondrous vision to her friends and neighbours. Among others who heard the story was the vicar of the parish, the Rev. Charles Butler Clough, afterwards Archdeacon,

* It was figured and fully described at p. 333 of the Journal of the Archæological Association, Vol. v. and from that engraving our own illustration is a faithful copy.

† These ornaments were engraved in the *Archæologia*, Vol. xxvii. p. 401, and the description at p. 400 of that work states that they were found "near Egerton Hall, while digging for the foundation of a cottage, in 1831. The date given in the text (1829) was supplied to us by Sir Philip Egerton himself, and is, no doubt, the more correct of the two. Our illustration is copied from the one given in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, Vol. v. p. 342. The original, of pure gold, is more than twice the size of the engraving.

and now Dean of St. Asaph, who, we shall presently see, took considerable interest in the later stages of the affair.

Years passed by, until on the 11th of October, 1833, Mr. Langford, then tenant of the farm, who had himself heard the vision related by the old woman, gave orders for the reduction of the goblin heap, in order to level his field for the plough. While carrying out his instructions, the workmen discovered, at a depth of from four to six feet from the surface, the remains of what must doubtless, at one time, have been a rudely formed *cist-vaen*. The body which once reposed there had long returned to its parent dust, nothing but the skull and a few inferior bones remaining of what once was, doubtless, a "prince and a leader among his people." The warrior—for such he surely was when in life—had been laid in the tomb, "with his martial cloak about him," in the shape of an elegant CORSLET, or breastplate, of virgin gold, embossed throughout after a curious pattern. Independent of its intrinsic value, the time spent on its manufacture and delicate ornamentation, must have rendered it a badge fit only for the breast of an exalted chieftain, and such was surely the warrior whose form it once graced. Verily, in the glowing words of the prophetic old lady, the wearer of that CORSLET, in his breastplate of gold, must have "shone like the sun!"

The Dean of St. Asaph, then Vicar of Mold, as before observed, took a lively interest both in the presage and the discovery; and in a letter to John Gage, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries, in 1835, communicated the following valuable particulars, which were afterwards printed in vol. 26 of the *Archæologia*:—

"Sir,—I beg leave to acquaint you with the result of my inquiries relative to the discovery of a golden CORSLET near this town (Mold), which I understand is now purchased for the British Museum. The spot where it was found is a small gravel bank, of which there are several at a little distance from the River Alun, in the Vale of Mold. This spot is about a quarter of a mile from the town of Mold, the road from which place to Chester is cut through part of the bank, within eight or ten yards of the site of the interesting remains. This road was probably the ancient road to this part of the country from the neighbourhood of Chester, as the nature of the ground, both above and below the bridge over the Alun (within a quarter of a mile), being very marshy, must have rendered a passage, otherwise than near the present bridge, often impracticable, before the drainage of late years took place. A short time before the discovery of the CORSLET, workmen had been employed in raising gravel from the side of the road, and had made a considerable pit for some yards into the adjoining field. A new tenant, Mr. John Langford, having taken the field, and the pit being unsightly, he employed persons to fill up the hole by shovelling down the top of the bank. While so employed, they observed that the whole of the materials with which they were filling the gravel pit, appeared to consist of larger stones than the material of the gravel below, and among them were several very large round stones. About four feet from the top of the bank,

and without doubt upon the original surface, they perceived the CORSLET.* It lay as it would have been worn, with the breast upwards, the back parts doubled behind, and contained within it a considerable number of small bones, vertebræ, &c., but none of them longer than from two to three inches. The skull, of *no* unusual size, lay at the upper end, but no bones of the extremities were noticed. These bones had no symptoms of fire upon them. The CORSLET was very resplendent. Upon it, in rows, lay a quantity of beads, some of which I saw, but cannot now procure one. They were evidently made of some kind of resin, as they broke bright and clear, and burned well, with the smell of that substance. There were also remains of coarse cloth or serge, which, from its appearing connected with or inclosing the beads, formed, I should suppose, their covering, and was fastened round the edges or open parts of the CORSLET as a braiding. Some small holes in the edge of the gold, create an idea that this braiding was fastened on through *them*. There are also several pieces of copper, upon which the gold had been rivetted with small nails, and which had served as a stiffening or inner case of the armour. Some of these pieces are still in Mr. Langford's possession. A quantity of what was apparently iron rust, or iron completely decayed, was the only further relic worthy of observation. From the general appearance of the place, there cannot, I think, be a doubt but that the body was laid in its armour upon the surface of a small natural mound of gravel, and from three to four hundred loads of stones were piled upon and around it. The gold might possibly have preserved the bones within it, while those of the extremities entirely decayed. But while the chieftain's bones were thus committed to the ground, unconsumed and apparelled as in life, it was not so with his followers. From two to three yards from the spot where he lay an urn was found, but unfortunately was broken to pieces by the workmen, and more than a wheelbarrow full of the remnants of burnt bones and ashes within it. Some small pieces of these bones have been examined by an experienced surgeon, who has no doubt of their being human. A quantity also of wood-charcoal was found, which was like sponge, and when pressed discharged a black fluid. Some of the largest of the stones which had been heaped together were from eight to ten hundred pounds in weight, one or two of these being close to the CORSLET.

"Connected with this subject (observes the Dean) it is certainly a strange circumstance that an elderly woman, who had been to Mold to lead her husband home late at night from a public-house, should have seen or fancied a spectre to have crossed the road before her to the identical mound of gravel 'of unusual size, and clothed in a coat of gold, which shone like the sun,' and that she should tell the story the next morning, many years ago, amongst others, to the very person, Mr. John Langford, whose workmen drew the treasure out of its prison-house. Her having related this story is an undoubted fact. I cannot, however, learn that there was any tradition of such an interment having taken place; though possibly this old woman might have heard of something of the kind in her youth, which still dwelt upon her memory, and, associated with the common appellation of the bank 'Bryn-yr-Ellyllon' (the Goblin's Hill), and a very general idea that the place was haunted, presented the golden effigy to her imagination.

"I regret to say, in conclusion, that the CORSLET suffered considerable

* Accompanying the paper in the *Archæologia* are two well-executed engravings of this curious ornament; our own illustration is copied from one of these.

mutilation. Mr. Langford, upon its discovery, having no idea of its value, threw it into a hedge, and told the workmen to bring it with them when they returned home to dinner. In the mean-time several persons broke small pieces of it;* and after I saw it, one piece of gold, apparently a shoulder strap, which was entire, was taken away; two small pieces of what I believe to have been the other shoulder strap, with several small pieces of copper upon which the gold was fixed, are still in Mr. Langford's possession. Several rings and breast-pins have been made out of the pieces carried away."

Thus far Dean Clough.† The CORSLET itself is in the British Museum,

* One of these fragments found its way to a watchmaker at Stockport,—who had resided at Mold,—and was purchased from him, in 1847, by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., in whose possession (December, 1856) it still remains. In a letter received from Mr. Hugo, while these pages were in type, that gentleman remarks:—"The object is usually called a 'Corslet,' or 'breastplate,' though that designation is so far incorrect, as signifying a piece of defensive armour. The present object was worn simply as an ornament, and was fastened to the garment beneath it, by means of the punctures thickly scattered along the line of either extremity. My fragment was evidently a portion of the upper edge, occupying a place just below the throat of the wearer, and contains some of the punctured holes already referred to. I am of opinion that this very interesting relic is not anterior in age to A.D. 400, and that indeed it may be the work of the following century. I would be understood, however, to speak with diffidence on a matter about which a dogmatic assertion is most undesirable."

† The Dean of St. Asaph, who, while Vicar of Mold, communicated these particulars to the Society of Antiquaries, has obligingly favoured us with the following additional observations:—"After the Corslet was discovered, the ground was levelled and ploughed over, and the surface is not distinguishable from the rest of the field. I suspect however that, were search made among the neighbouring mounds of gravel, they would furnish a supply of remains worthy the attention of the antiquary. It has always struck me as a strange circumstance, that no record seems to exist among our Bards (so fond of distinguishing warriors by the character of their accoutrements, as well as deeds of prowess,) of this most remarkable and probably unique vestment. The wearer must, in his day, have been more renowned for his dress even than for his feats of arms. In all probability, he must have been slain in defending the passage of the river against the inroads of the enemy, and that *successfully;* otherwise his body would have been carried off by his defeated followers to some of the neighbouring fastnesses. The beauty and elaborate nature of the workmanship upon the Corslet may create a doubt whether it could have been manufactured in Wales, though I do not deny that the material *might* have been procured there. At the present day however, very large sums have been laid out upon trials for gold, and I suspect that the result of an outlay of several thousands of pounds will not produce a sufficient quantity to manufacture a similar ornament.* I have a piece of the *edge* of the Corslet now in my possession, about three-quarters of an inch long, perforated with holes, which was given to me a few weeks ago at Mold; but I have never been able to procure one of the (amber?) beads, of which there were at first scores, or rather hundreds, thrown away. As for the ghost story, I can only say, that the facts stated by me were perfectly true, and that the old woman, with whom I was very well acquainted, was as little likely to have fancies about apparitions as any one I know. I have seen several remarks upon the facts in my former statement, deducing different conclusions from them to those I had advanced; but I cannot say that I have noticed any arguments which have at all convinced me that the views I entertained were wrong."



W.T.Bellars lith.

GOLD CORSLET

FOUND AT MOLD, FLINTSHIRE.

[Width of Original, Three feet one inch and a quarter.]

saving only such portions as were broken off and pilfered, prior to its becoming the property of the nation. Some of the pieces so abstracted were afterwards recovered, either by purchase or otherwise; and I have just secured another small piece, about two inches long, which our friend, Mr. Hawkins, Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum (one of your honorary members), requested me to purchase, with the like intent, from Mr. Thomas Lowe, of this city. I have had a reduced sketch made of the larger portion now preserved in the British Museum,—carefully copied from the *Archæologia*,—in order to delineate the pattern of the embossing, and the general character of the ornament itself. The CORSLET is now somewhat more complete than here shown, owing to some of the fragments having been subsequently restored. It weighs about 18 ounces,—its extreme length being 3 feet 1¼ inches, and its width in the centre *eight* inches. When perfect, and on the breast of the wearer, it must indeed have been a splendid embellishment of the person, and in the broad light of day, to repeat the old lady's metaphor, must have "shone like the sun!"

Who was the original possessor of the CORSLET is a question which we of the present day cannot pretend to answer. Certainly he was in life a personage of the very highest rank and importance; and it is supposed must have died in the true faith of a Christian, from his body having been buried entire, instead of being first "*burned* and *urned*," as was the recognized style of later Pagan sepulture.* Dr. Owen Pughe, a Welsh antiquary

* This position, which is espoused by Ab Ithel (the Rev. J. Williams) in his article on this subject in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, is not without its difficulties. Ab Ithel evidently confounds, in one place, the contents respectively of the *urn* and of the *grave*, and argues therefrom that the interment took place in Christian times, and probably about the 6th or 7th century. Upon this subject, our Society's Historic Secretary, Mr. W. Wynne Ffoulkes, pertinently observes:—"I think Mr. Williams is wrong in his idea of the period to which the interment belonged. He also misapprehends some of the facts, in considering the spongy charcoal to have been probably pieces of a coffin. If *charcoal* was found, it was, to say the least of it, highly improbable that such could be any portion of a coffin. If it was, how could it become *charcoal*? But the fact was this,—charcoal was not found with the inhumed body upon which the Corslet lay, but with the *urn* found two or three yards from the Corslet. Most probably the interment was prior to the Christian era; yet the proof of this would depend much upon the relative position of the two interments. But I think, from all that has been written, the probabilities are in favour of its belonging to the Pagan period. In connection with the name of the supposed owner of the Corslet, Mr. Williams quotes a passage from the 'Englynion y Beddau' out of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, Vol. i. p. 80, which has a strange coincidence of circumstantial description and name:—

> 'The grave of Alun,—thy form is seen yonder by the rolling stream;
> On the declivity
> Is the grave of Rhun the son of Alun.'

The vicinity of 'the rolling stream,'—the situation 'on the declivity,'—and the name

of repute, imagines the grave may have been that of Benlli Gawr, an exalted chieftain of the "days of old," but other authorities have disputed the appropriation. My safest plan, therefore, will be to leave that point in the same state of glorious uncertainty in which I found it, for, in my case,

> Where ignorance is bliss,
> 'Twere folly to be wise.

To return to the GHOST STORY. It is a curious fact, that this is not the only case on record, in which peculiar circumstances have prefaced or induced the discovery of hid treasure. At Largo, in Fifeshire, a tumulus existed, which popular tradition had long declared to be filled with riches in abundance. NORRIE'S LAW, as the mound was called, was reputed to contain "a warrior and his steed, in an erect position; that he was the chief of a great army, and that he was buried in his armour of *massive silver*. Singular as it may appear, in 1817, the tumulus was opened, when, to the wondering eyes of the barrow-diggers was revealed a quantity of armour of *massive silver*, in accordance with the faithful voice of tradition!

Another equally curious incident is related by Bishop Gibson, in his edition of *Camden's Britannia*, published in 1695, as having occurred within his own knowledge at Ballyshannon, in Ireland:—"In the Ashmolean Museum a gold plate is preserved, which was found in the latter part of the seventeenth century near Ballyshannon, solely in consequence of the song of a blind harper, who chanced to come in whilst the Bishop of Derry (Doctor Hopkins) was at dinner. The Bishop desiring to know the purport of his lay, the herdsman was called in as interpreter, and explained it to be this:—That at a certain spot a man of gigantic stature lay buried, his breast and back covered with plates of gold, and large golden rings upon his fingers. On digging at the place indicated, this plate, still to be seen at Oxford, and another, were found." The harper was evidently singing some venerable tradition of his bardic forefathers!

No ornament analagous to our CORSLET has, so far as *I* can ascertain, ever been discovered in England; but in the sister kingdom, a somewhat

of *Alun* (the present name of the river) are curious coincidences, which are very applicable to the circumstances of the discovery of the Corslet; but I do not think we can say more. In the quotation, Alun is the name of a man,—the river which flows past Mold is also called by the same name, and often formerly spelt the same way. But how the river obtained this name we do not know, and it is very unusual to find a river called after the name of a man. Were it not that it is not in keeping with the general style of the 'Englynion y Beddau'—as far as I know them by quotation—I should have attempted to conjecture that Alun was the name of a place or district,—that 'the grave of Alun' meant the grave *in* Alun, and that it was the grave of Rhun, the son of Alun,—the son, that is, of that district,—just as in poetry you might speak of 'Cestria's son,' when meaning a leading person in Chester. But such a conjecture would, I believe, be contrary to the general tenor of those poems, which commemorate the graves of the most celebrated Cymric chieftains."

similar decoration, also of *gold*, is stated to have been found at Lismore. This was purchased by a goldsmith of Cork for £600, by whom I presume it was melted down, in dread of being subjected to the obnoxious law of "treasure trove,"—a "vested right" which has done more in past times to cripple the study and pursuits of Archæology than we can at all, in the present day, estimate.

We shall close our notes on this curious relic with one of a wholly different character,—which, indeed, were the arguments therein clearly substantiable, would be "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to all the learned speculations previously set forth! Mr. T. N. Brushfield, Medical Superintendent of the Cheshire Lunatic Asylum, who has paid much attention to discoveries in Celtic tumuli, suggests that the ornament *may not be a Corslet at all!* but that in all probability it was "the outer coating of a shield, used by some chief of rank, to distinguish him from his followers." Mr. B. further reminds us that "the shields of the Britons were usually made of wicker-work, or wood, covered with a thin layer of metal, and having in the centre a projecting boss, the cavity of which was occupied by the hand,—and that the ornamentation of this relic is very similar to that upon shields supposed to be of the same period." Now, it will be evident at a glance, that the ornament, as depicted in our engraving, can never have served to any such use,—there is nothing in its shape or construction at all approximating to a shield,—no boss or projection of any sort at its centre. On the contrary, its very form, enlarging gusset-wise at the breasts, and contracting gradually at the neck, together with the notice, in Dean Clough's letter, of the shoulder-straps said to have been attached to it when found,—all combine to prove that it was an ornament designed for the person; while the bones and skull found with it show that it was so worn by its owner when he and his breastplate were consigned to their princely grave.

The Great Barrow or Tope of Sanchee,

IN CENTRAL INDIA.

ILLUSTRATED IN DRAWINGS TAKEN ON THE SPOT

BY THE LATE REV. W. H. MASSIE.

IT was the intention of our late Ecclesiastical Secretary to have favoured the Society with an illustrated lecture on Indian Antiquities, with more particular reference to the great Tope or Barrow of Sanchee. In anticipation of that lecture, he had caused the plates which accompany this notice, and which are copied from his own original sketches made upon the spot in 1827, to be lithographed and printed for publication in this Journal. Had not the hand of death unfortunately summoned him from amongst us, and that at a time when he could least be spared from our councils, these little drawings would have played a more conspicuous part in the annals of our transactions than they are now destined to do. When arranging this portion of the Journal for the press, the prints in question arrested the notice of the editors, and they naturally looked around for some friendly pen, able as well as willing to throw light on this palpably interesting subject. Owing, however, to the remote distance of the monuments themselves, and to the comparatively few travellers who have attempted to explore them, it has not been found possible to accomplish that wish. Thus circumstanced, the editors are compelled, in default of an extended paper, to give simply an epitome of the general character of these monuments, which they trust will in some degree enliven and explain what might otherwise prove mere barren illustrations.

Mr. Massie, as is well known, was in early life attached to the army in India, and it was while there on duty as an ensign, in 1827, that he first became acquainted with the curious monuments now under notice. At this point, perhaps a short general description of the Topes or Barrows of Ancient



T Bailey lith.

THE GREAT TOPE OF SANCHEE, IN CENTRAL INDIA.

GENERAL VIEW.

India, abridged * from a memoir on that subject by C. Masson, Esq., in the *Ariana Antiqua*, may not be uninteresting :—

"The term Tope, which is applicable to the more prominent and interesting of the structures under consideration, is that in ordinary use by the people of those regions in which they most abound. A Tope is a massive structure comprising two essential parts,—the basement, and the perpendicular body resting thereon : the latter always terminates after the manner of a cupola.

"These monuments or barrows are constructed of layers of large stones, cemented with beaten earth. While, however, the interiors of these Topes, or *Stupas*, are immense masses of stones and earth regularly disposed, the exterior surfaces have been objects of most particular care. Originally, a covering of white cement overspread the superior portions of the Topes. Some of these monuments have a circumference of 144 feet, many that of 108 feet ; others exceed or fall short of these dimensions. Many have contiguous to them large oblong areas, enclosed within huge mounds of earth, as if intended for reservoirs of water, but in some situations it is difficult to conjecture how they could have been filled. In a few of the Topes passages or tunnels have been found, extending from the centre towards the circumference.

"The favourite sites selected for them are at the skirts of hills, on elevations separated from each other by ravines. In the neighbouring hills or adjacent ravines are invariably found connected with all Topes a number of caves, all of which were originally lined with cement. The superior caves were probably temples, and many of them have at their upper extremities, niches which have been occupied by statues. The majority may be, however, conjectured to have been the abodes of priests or recluses, who formed the staff connected with the endowment and consecration of these venerable monuments. Topes are always accompanied by inferior structures, which may be called *tumuli* ; and there is a manifest connection between them, as no Tope is without its dependent tumulus ; and in frequent instances many tumuli are near the Tope.

"Having premised thus far upon the form, construction, and position of these monuments, we may offer a few observations on the *relics* they enclose, and the mode of their deposit. The relics are mostly discovered in small recesses or apartments in the centre of the building, enclosed in caskets or vases of copper, brass, and steatite. These vases, sometimes of a globular, sometimes of a cylindrical form, occasionally contain smaller cylinders of gold or silver, often of both, distinct or enclosed within the others ; in one of these will generally be found a *fragment or two of bone*, and *these* appear to have been the essential relics over which the monuments were raised. These fragments are sometimes loose and detached, or mixed with a small mass of unguents or other doubtful matter, amongst which a bead or gum may be inserted, and the whole carefully wrapped up in an envelope of fine linen.

"In the larger vases is usually discovered a portion of fine pulverized earth or ashes, amongst which have been placed some burnt pearls, beads,

* For this abridgment, and for a good portion of the materials from which the present notice has been compiled, we are indebted to the friendly and zealous co-operation of one of our most distinguished English barrow-diggers, Thomas Bateman, Esq., of Yolgrave, Derbyshire, whose valuable assistance we have here much pleasure in acknowledging.

seals, and other trinkets. In some examples the deposits have been accompanied by twists of tuz-leaves, inscribed internally with characters invariably the same as those found on the native legends of our Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins; and it is clear that the Topes were raised during the period when such characters composed the alphabet of the country. In some instances inscriptions are found, scratched with a sharp-pointed instrument around a steatite vase; or written in ink around an earthen vessel; or dotted, perhaps, on a brass vessel.

"Some of these Topes have yielded coins; others none. The former are judged to be the secular, and the latter the more sacred monuments of hierarchs and saints. That they are of the nature of *anotaphs* seems proved from the fact, that no one of them contains ashes or bones in quantity, as would have been the case had entire corpses or their remains been entombed within them. The essential deposit has been always found to be a small fragment of bone, or a minute portion of ashes."

To these short explanatory particulars as to the nature of Topes generally, Mr. Bateman further informs us that "the usually received opinion among antiquaries is, that they are the depositories of relics of Buddha, or Buddhist Saints, and that they were erected from the fifth century B.C., to the third century after Christ."

A second quotation from the *Ariana Antiqua* brings us to the particular Topes referred to at the commencement of this notice,—one of which furnished materials for the pencil of our deceased colleague,—viz., the TOPES OF SANCHEE:—

"Another remarkable monument was first noticed by Captain Fell at Sanchee, on the west bank of the Betwa river, near Bhilsa. A description of it is printed in the third volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 490, with illustrations, and the *fac-simile* of an inscription. This account is sufficient to determine that the building is a Tope; but the point has been fully ascertained since by further investigations. In the sixth volume of the same *Journal*, p. 451, *fac-similes* of various inscriptions discovered at Sanchee, and accurately copied on the spot by Capt. Smith, also drawings of the monument and its sculpture by Captain Murray, are published, with remarks by Mr. Prinsep; and in the seventh volume of the same Journal, p. 562, a variety of inscriptions copied by Captain Burt will be found, with translations and notes by the same indefatigable palæographer. They led to most important results, enabling Mr. Prinsep to extend his discoveries, and to complete the decyphering of the ancient alphabet on the staff of Firoz Shah, the Buddhist coins of Behut, and finally, the inscriptions on the rocks of Orissa and Guzerat. One of the inscriptions at Sanchee is said to have been made in the reign of Chandragupta, the founder, 315 B.C. of the Mauryan dynasty of the Punjaub."

It was in 1837-8, just ten years after Mr. Massie visited and sketched the great Sanchee monument, that the above discoveries were made, and their results communicated in the *Asiatic Journal*, by the then distinguished editor, the late James Prinsep, Esq. Since that time, the Tope now under

consideration, and others of like antiquity and importance in the neighbourhood, have been opened by Captain (now Major) Cunningham, Bengal Engineers; and very important relics of the earliest disciples of Sakyamuni, the founder of the Buddhist religion,* were discovered therein. Full particulars of these researches appear in later volumes of the beforementioned *Journal;* and Major Cunningham has himself also published a highly illustrated work upon the same subject.

This celebrated Tope occupies the western summit of the hill of Sanchee, the remainder of its flat-topped surface being dotted with similar ruins. The outer court of the Tope measures about 150 yards long by 100 broad. These are entered by four massive and elegant gateways, the which, as our illustrations will show, are covered on all sides with a profuseness of sculpture, to which we stay-at-home Cestrians are comparatively strangers.

Connecting these gateways, a peculiarly Buddhistical form of stone colonnade surrounds the main body, and on this are found carved a multitude of inscriptions, which are proved to have been placed there long before the Christian era. Major Cunningham is of opinion that the centre Stupa or mound was in existence at least 443 years B.C.; that the massive stone railing was erected in the reign of the great King Asoka, 260 years B.C., when Greek princes were reigning in Bactria and Cabul; and that the gateways, of which we are here presented with engravings, were added between the years 19 and 37, A.D.

Full in the midst stands the Great Tope itself, once, it may be, the depository of some sacred remains,† which, however, from the fact of *no relics*

* One celebrated relic of Buddha exists in Ceylon, and is an object of the highest veneration to the natives. It consists of a tooth, reputed to have been taken from the right jawbone of Buddha, and is, in fact, a piece of discoloured ivory, slightly curved, measuring not quite two inches long, and one inch in diameter at the base. Tradition records that it was obtained from the God Sukraya, B.C. 306. The relic is preserved within a lofty bellshaped building, called Tuparamaya, and is occasionally taken out by the local Government, and exhibited to the Cingalese populace. It is looked upon as the Palladium of Ceylon, and the sovereign power is, by common consent, attached to its possessors.

† Beautifully illustrative of these monuments, as well as of the relics they generally contained, are Byron's lines:—

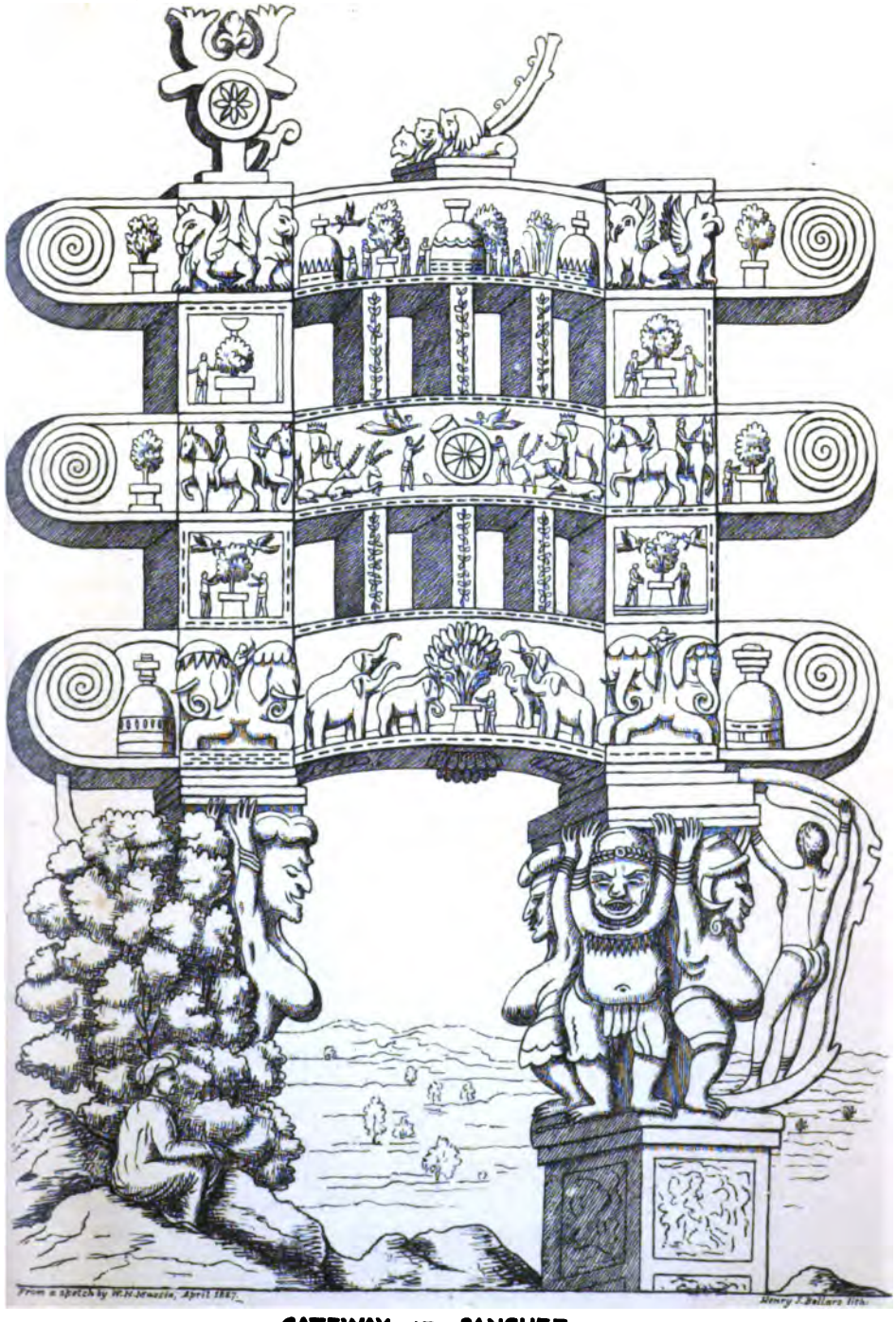
"There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress with its fence of stone;
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone,
And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity—where wave
The green leaves, over all by Time o'erhrown,—
What was this tower of strength? Within its cave
What treasure lay so locked, so hid? *A hermit's grave!*

Childe Harold.

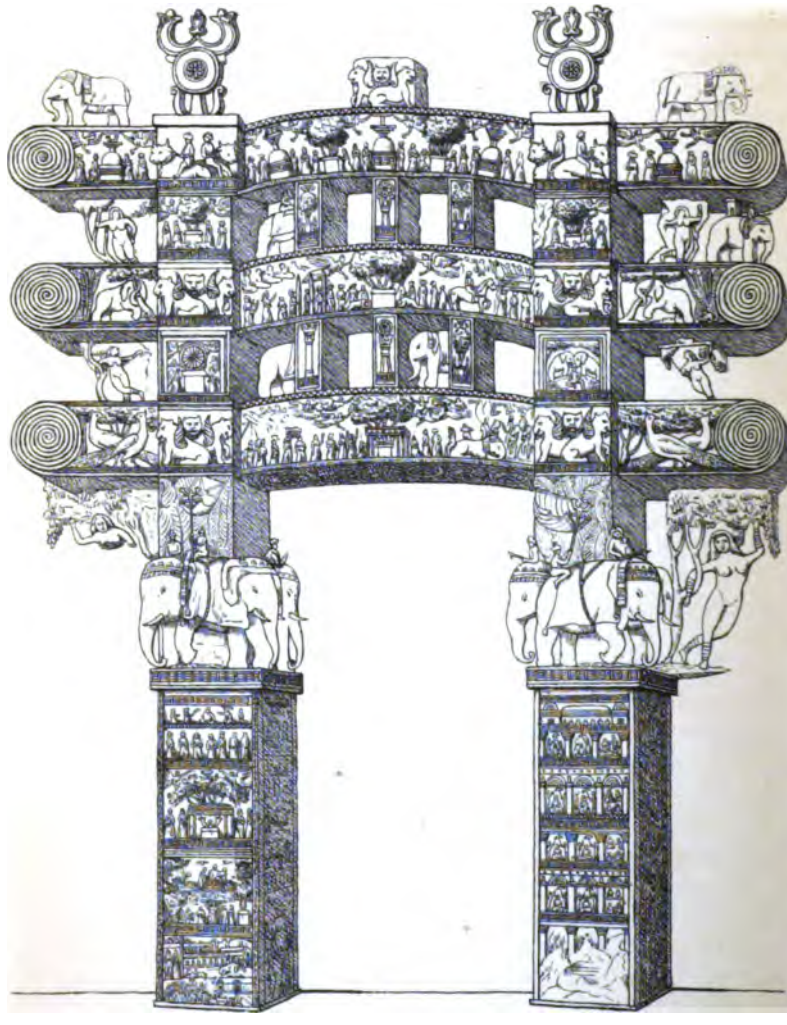
having been discovered within it, was most probably dedicated to the Supreme Buddha himself. This notion is strengthened by the fact that monuments to the four sole mortal Buddhas exist to this day within the enclosure. There it stands, a solid dome of sandstone and brick, 106 feet in diameter, and 42 feet in height, surrounded by a terrace, upon which the devotees assembled in worship at Buddha's shrine. When perfect, the total height of the building was perhaps a hundred feet, but the ornamentation of the top is now destroyed, and the apex of the mound itself is in partial ruin.

The four gateways, facing respectively north, south, east, and west, are objects of extreme interest to all visitors. Two square pillars, 13½ feet high and 2½ feet thick, surmounted by capitals 4½ feet high, and an architrave nearly 20 feet in length, constitute each gateway. The capitals of each vary; the southern gate has four lions on each side,—the northern and eastern have each four elephants,—and the western, which was sketched by Mr. Massie himself, has each capital adorned with four grotesque human dwarfs! The figure of a female dancer, in full relief, lends additional grace to each capital.

The Western Gateway, as here depicted, affords us a capital idea of its form, and of the elaborate character of the bas-relief. The sketch is taken from the ruined summit of the Tope itself, hence we obtain but a limited view of the lower portion of one of the columns. The entire height of this gateway is 18 feet 2 inches, and its breadth about 7 feet. The architrave is, it will be perceived, slightly bowed, shewing that the principle of the arch was known in India at least as early as the Christian era. In the upper division of the architrave we have representations in bas-relief of three mounds or Topes, between which are trees, with their attendant priests or worshippers; over one of the Topes a winged angel, or *kinnara*, is seen approaching. In the centre is a large wheel, the symbol of Buddha. Two royal personages have descended from their crowned elephants, and are engaged in adoration, over each of whom a winged kinnara protectingly hovers; on either side are two elks or antelopes. The lower compartment symbolises the worship of the banyan tree by elephants, carrying garlands and flowers, water, &c. The story here sought to be conveyed is this:— "In the sterile and solitary places of India, where these Topes are to be found, there are no men to sweep and to water; but we may then see continually small herds of elephants taking water in their trunks to sprinkle the sacred trees, and the ground about the Topes, and collecting, besides, rich flowers and perfumes, perform the service of the tower." "There were" proceeds the legend, "certain Rationalists from various countries who had come to perform their devotions at the tower. They met the elephants, and, overcome with terror, concealed themselves among the trees, whence they witnessed the animals performing the duty according to law. They were greatly affected to observe how, though there was no one to attend to



GATEWAY AT SANCHEE,
NEAR BHILSAH,
HINDOSTAN.



GATEWAY AT SANGHEE,

HINDOSTAN.

Henry J. Bellaw lith.

the service of the Tope, it was nevertheless kept watered and swept. The Rationalists upon this abandoned their old precepts, and returning home, became priests, converted their king, and induced him to found an establishment of ecclesiastics, as well as to erect a temple." The supports of the architraves are Topes or trees, some with worshippers, between which are mounted horsemen, winged lions, elephants, &c. The extreme summit of each pillar was originally crowned with that peculiar symbol of *Dharma*, or Nature pure and undefiled, so continually introduced into almost every Buddhist sculpture and decoration. One of these symbols has disappeared from the present gateway, but it will be found repeated on each side of the Eastern Gateway, now about to be described.

The Eastern Gateway, as will be seen by the engraving, is of a richer and more gorgeous character than the one just noticed. Its proportions are substantially similar to the other; but the sculpture is altogether different. The bas-reliefs on the front of the left hand pillar are, first of all, two rows of figures, standing and sitting in different postures. Then comes a large subject, illustrating a temple, in which we see the sacred symbol of Dharma on an altar placed beneath a spreading tree; on either side are worshippers, and over all, some winged kinnaras making offerings to the altar. Below this the ocean is seen, on which is a boat containing three persons, one of whom is a passenger, the other the steersman, while the third plys the oars. On the banks in the foreground are four figures in religious costume; and in the right hand corner, a sacred tree, and an altar. The passenger is supposed to be Sakyamuni, who having attained upon earth his freedom from migration, is being transported over the waters then believed to surround this transitory world. The four figures on the shore are (some with uplift hands) bewailing the loss of their beloved Sakyamuni. The lower compartment presents the walls and gates of a large city, which a chariot, bearing the king and two other passengers, is rapidly leaving, followed by mounted elephants and horsemen from within the walls. The subjects upon the other pillar are, first, the upper apartment of a palace, in which are two royal personages seated, with numerous attendants; in the second, a king on his throne, over whom an attendant holds the umbrella of royalty, while two Indian girls are performing their evolutions to the sound of two lutes. The other two compartments are simply repetitions of the previous bas-reliefs. The entire front of the pillar represents a six-storied palace, each story supported by a range of four handsome pillars, the Buddhist railing, and the bell-shaped domes, producing altogether a most excellent effect. The subjects in the three ranges of the architrave are—1st: The worship of Topes and sacred trees by numbers of religious devotees. * The other

* One of Sakyamuni's "seven imperishable precepts" will explain the regard evinced in all these Buddhist monuments for the Chaityas or Topes, and their sacred

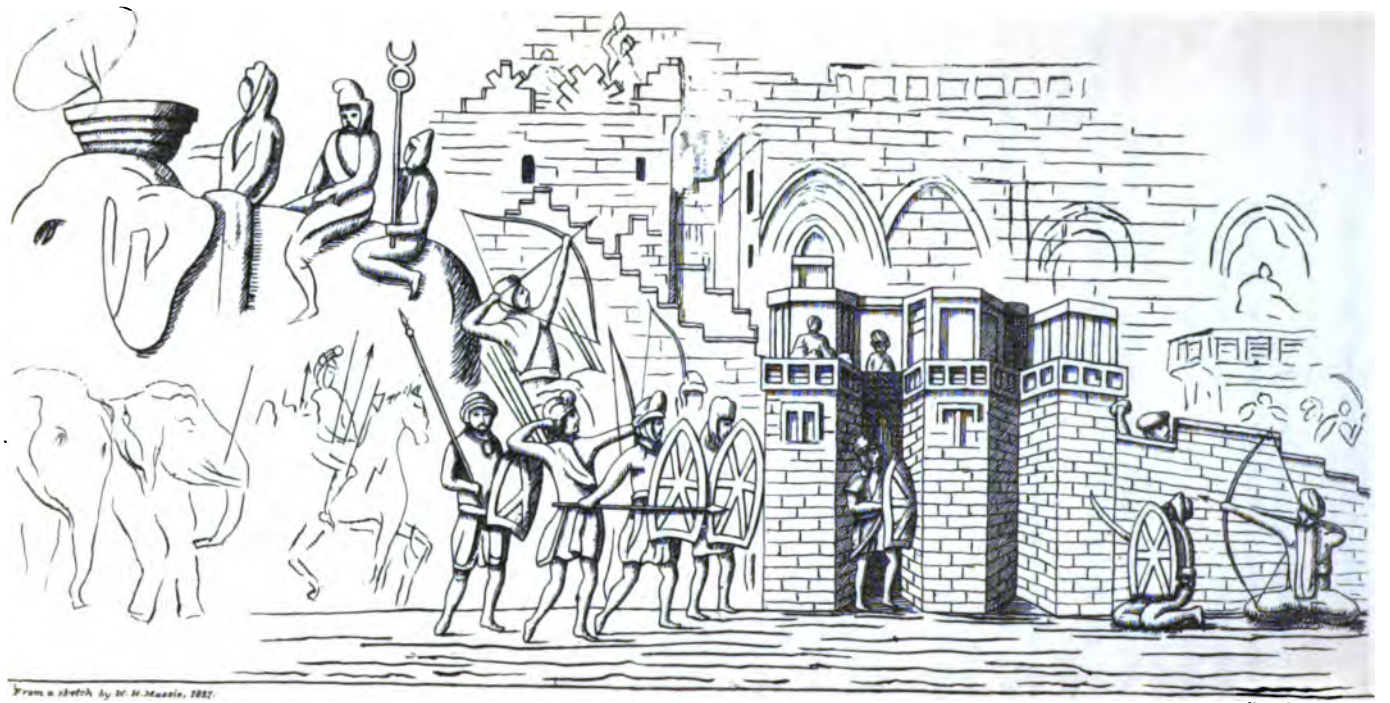
two compartments appear to represent the worship of trees, by ecclesiastics and others, both prostrate and kneeling, winged kinnaras, horsemen, elephants, &c., in the immediate foreground. These trees were the objects of worship, because Sakyamuni himself was traditionally said to have sat beneath their shadow.

One portion of the sculpture on the South Gateway has formed the subject of a special illustration for Mr. Massie's pencil. It is a fragment of a large bas-relief, representing, when entire, "a siege, and a relic procession." Mr. Massie's is a sketch simply of the centre portion. We are introduced therein to a beleaguered city, in the foreground whereof we have the principal gate, the possession of which seems to be the coveted object of the besiegers from without; while on the summit of the gateway, and on the battlements of the walls, the loyal citizens are provided with large stones, with which to heap destruction on the heads of their assailants. The besiegers are Buddhists; for on the left is a large elephant, bearing a sacred relic box on its head, 'neath the shady protection of a *chatta*, or umbrella; on the back of the elephant, too, is a soldier bearing a standard, crowned with the sacred monogram of Dharma. Other elephants, and mounted horsemen, are coming up to the attack.

The dresses of the besiegers are remarkable, and the mode of securing the quiver to the backs of the bowmen, is both strange and picturesque. Major Cunningham, referring to this particular subject, says—"The quiver is fastened to the right shoulder, and the fastening-straps are passed over both shoulders to the back, where they go through a ring in the end of the quiver, the ends being secured to the upper straps by loops. This recalls to the mind the words of the Psalmist regarding the children of Ephraim, who being "harnessed and carrying bows, turned themselves back in the day of battle." The only apparent clothing is a kilt and head-dress; but there was no doubt a tight fitting jacket of some sort to cover the body. The whole costume has a striking resemblance to that of the Highlanders of Scotland." The shields are of peculiar shape and decoration, and the bows, when at rest, must have been as tall as the archers themselves. The houses in the background of the picture appear to be supported upon a terrace of curious arches; which, if correctly copied by Mr. Massie, would tend to prove that the principle of the arch was certainly known to the ancient inhabitants of Central India.

We have before stated, that the stone railing or enclosure of the Great Sanchee Tope contained monuments to each of the four mortal Buddhas.

trees. The faithful are enjoined "to maintain, reverence, respect, and make offerings to the Chaityas, and to keep up the ancient offerings without diminution." Quintus Curtius, speaking of the worship of these trees, says "they (the Indians) contemplate as deities whatever their ancestors worshipped, particularly *trees*, to wound which is a capital crime."



SCULPTURE ON A FRAGMENT FROM GATEWAY AT SANCHEE,
HINDOSTAN.

One of the inscriptions on the outer railing was translated by James Prinsep, and found to relate particularly to their shrines. It records the name* of a lady, who leaves money to the poor, and also to devotees who shall offer up prayers for her deceased father and mother; and it further records that, "in the treasure house are deposited three dinars; with the interest of these three dinars, day by day lamps are to be lighted and kept burning at the shrines of the four mortal Buddhas." This will remind us of the almost similar statutes connected with the ancient Hospital of St. John the Baptist, without the Northgate, at Chester. It appears, by an inquisition taken in the reign of Edward III., that "there ought to be, and have accustomed to be, three chaplains to say mass daily before the poor and feeble sustained in the said Hospital, and that one lamp ought to be sustained at mass every day, in the said Hospital, and to burn every night in the whole year."

We now proceed to notice the arms and other articles depicted on the last of our Indian illustrations. They were copied by Mr. Massie from Cunningham's work upon the "Bhilsa Topes," to which valuable work we are indebted for the following description of them :—

1. A steatite vase from the principal Andher Tope. Andher is situate about ten miles from Sanchee. The vase is of elaborate workmanship, and was once furnished with a spout, the hole for which is shown in the engraving. This spout is illustrated by Nos. 18 and 19, taken from bas-reliefs on the gateway at Sanchee. On the upper rim of the neck there is an ancient inscription, which denotes that the vase once contained the "relics of the emancipated Mogaliputra, pupil of Gotiputra." Mogaliputra was the well-known head of the Buddhist church; he died B.C. 233, and this inscription, therefore, clearly determines the age of the Andher Tope.

2. A bell attached to elephant housings. (This and all the remaining objects are from the gateways of Sanchee.)

3. Pike, or javelin. (See example in previous plate of the Siege.)

4. Sword worn by a doorkeeper or porter.

5. Dagger.

6. The Indian *thunderbolt*, a symbol of universal dominion, usually placed in the hands of a king. This symbol is very common on the Sanchee bas-reliefs.

7. Felling axe. 8. Battle axe.

9. Elephant goad. 10. Trident.

11. Standard, surmounted by the symbol of Dharma. (See soldier on elephant in the previous Siege plate.)

* Speir's Life in Ancient India, 1856, p. 226.

12. Infantry shield. (See numerous specimens in Mr. Massie's sketch of the Siege.)

13 and 14. Cavalry shields. 15. Long drum.

16. Chatta, or umbrella. 17. Looking-glass.

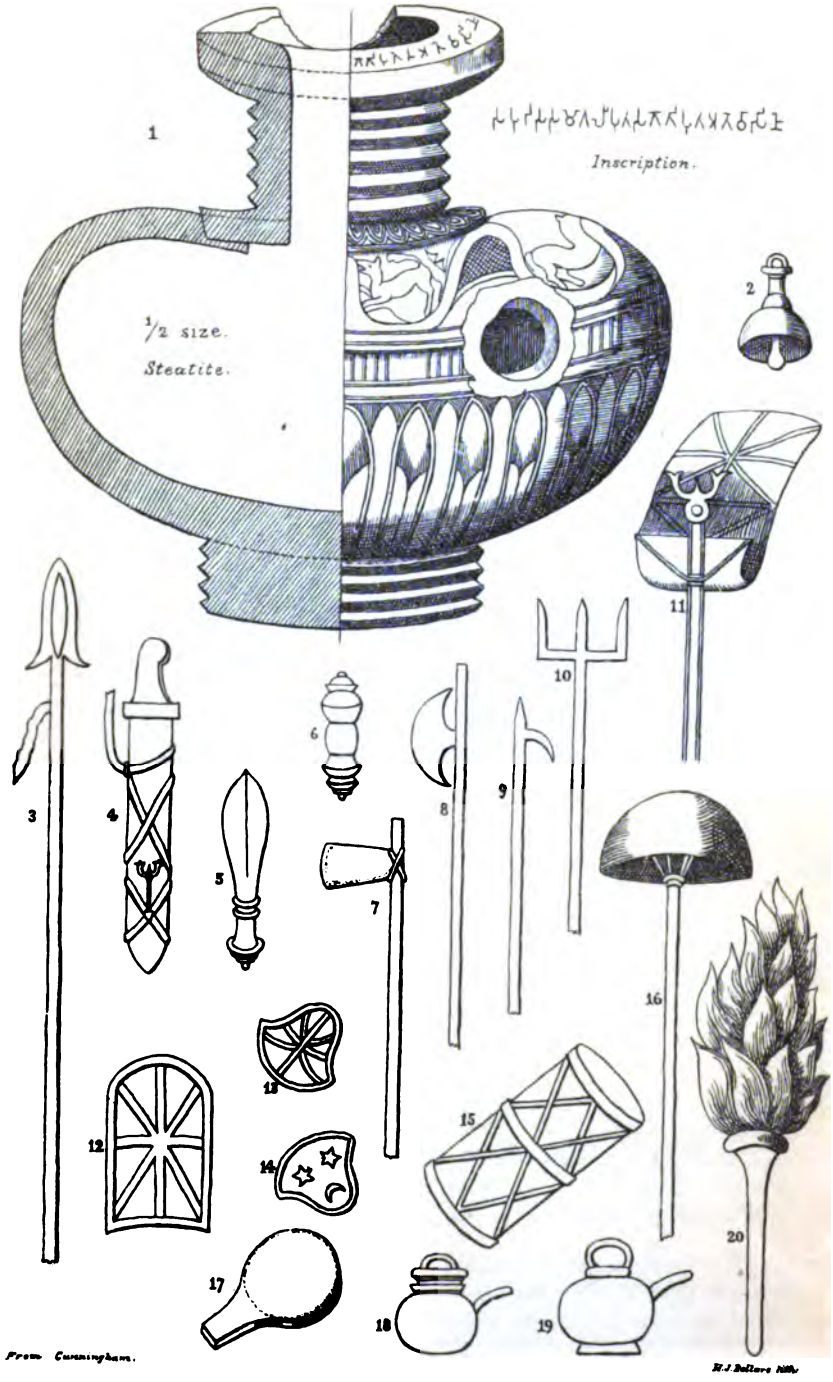
18 and 19. Holy water vessels carried in procession.

20. Chaori, or tail of the Yak.

From all this it will appear that the Sanchee Tope, the preceding sketches of which we owe to the fertile pencil of Mr. Massie, has played no slight or unworthy part in determining a question of the very highest importance to the early history of India. The language of a people, who, two thousand years ago, were lords of a soil now partially owning the sovereignty of Britain, can never be wholly without interest to Englishmen. These lasting monuments, therefore, of India's ancient greatness, laying bare to us the details of a language long forgotten, may fairly claim at least our passing consideration. When Mr. Massie, now nearly 30 years ago, busied himself over those original sketches, that language was felt to be all but a dead letter; when the studious young ensign gazed on the symbols he found at Sanchee, or copied the mystic inscriptions at Andher, he knew he was tracing an unknown tongue! Later researches, however, and patient study have produced their effect,—the gloom once existing has been at length dispelled,—and the legends upon the coins, the inscriptions upon the tuz-leaves and vases of ancient India, are now revealed, in all their native simplicity, to the eye of the palæologist and antiquary.

Some portion of the merit attached to these discoveries we may justly claim for the young Chester soldier; insomuch as his spirited sketches, made ten years previously, were communicated to Mr. Prinsep, when, in 1837, he penned the articles on this interesting subject in the *Asiatic Journal*. The merit in chief is, of course, due to the latter named gentleman, and to the after researches of Major Cunningham and others, whose indefatigable labours in that far-off field of Indian archæology it were impossible for any of us to estimate too highly.

We cannot close this article without gratefully acknowledging the valuable assistance rendered to us by several obliging friends, foremost among whom we may single out the names of Mr. H. T. Prinsep, one of the Directors of the Hon. East India Company, Mr. Bateman, and the Rev. J. H. Marsden. To these three gentlemen, the former especially, we are beholden for much of the information we have here ventured modestly to put forth.



1. VASE FROM ANDHER.
2 to 20. ARTICLES FROM
THE BAS-RELIEFS AT SANCHEE.

Obituary Memoirs.

THE LATE REV. W. H. MASSIE,

THE SOCIETY'S FIRST ECCLESIASTICAL SECRETARY.

ERE yet the Chester Archæological Society has completed the first volume of its printed *Journal*, it is the painful duty of the Council to record the death of the original founder and chief supporter of the Society,—the Rev. William Henry Massie.* That mournful event took place at his residence, St. Mary's Rectory, Chester, on the night of Saturday, January 5th, 1856. During the previous month he had been labouring under a severe and debilitating illness, which excited the warm and anxious sympathy of all classes of his fellow-citizens. High and low, rich and poor, daily thronged the Rectory gates, solicitous to hear of some favourable change in their beloved friend's state. But the skill of the earthly physician was vain,—the prayers of a whole city were, in like manner, vain,—for the sands of a life well and profitably spent ebbed rapidly away; and when death at length put an end to his sufferings, all felt that there had passed from a sphere of happy usefulness on earth, one of whom truly it may be said, that—

"take him for all in all,
We scarce shall look upon his like again!"

The Massies of Coddington, to which branch of a most venerable Cheshire family the subject of this memoir belonged, were seated at Coddington at least as early as A.D. 1400. The first proved representative of the Coddington family, in the reign of Richard II., was Hugh Massie, who is

* The photographic portrait which forms the frontispiece to the present volume is a reduced copy of the one taken only a few weeks before Mr. Massie's death by Captain Inglefield, Royal Artillery, who was at that time on duty at Chester Castle. The likeness is an admirable one, and we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. I. Blackburne, Vicar of Rostherne, an old Curate of Mr. Massie's, for the permission to transfer it to our pages.

believed to have been a son of Sir John Massey, of Tatton, and consequently descended in an almost direct male line from that puissant Norman, Hamon de Masci, Baron of Dunham. This Hugh Massie appears to have settled at Coddington, in consequence of his marriage with Agnes, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Bold, of that place, who held the three manors of Coddington, Eggerley, and Bechin, under the mesne lord, Sir Philip le Boteler. William Massie, son and heir of this Hugh, in 1440, purchased these adjoining estates from Sir Philip le Boteler. At his death, Eggerley passed to his eldest son Morgan, who continued the direct line of the Massies of Eggerley. The second son, John Massie, inherited Coddington and Bechin, and the former estate has continued to be vested in his descendants for more than four hundred years. The late Rev. Richard Massie, Rector of Eccleston, and father of our deceased friend, held possession of the property for more than half a century; and upon his death, in 1854, it descended to Richard Massie, Esq. his eldest son, its present proprietor.

Of this family was Major-General Edward Massie, a celebrated military character of the 17th century. Early in his career he served as a Royalist in the expedition against Scotland, and, on the breaking out of the civil war, joined for a short time the King's standard at York. Not known, or, at all events, properly appreciated there, he took up arms for the Parliament, and being made Lieutenant-colonel under the Earl of Stamford, was by him appointed Governor of Gloucester city. Here he was besieged by the King in person, but without success; indeed, Massie's stubborn defence of that city was considered at the time to be one of the most signal instances of bravery during the entire war. The siege being raised by the opportune arrival of the Earl of Essex, the city was preserved, and Colonel Massie received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, besides being promoted to the rank of Major-General. At Ledbury and Evesham, Massie behaved with more than ordinary bravery, with his own hands contributing to the successes there achieved by the Roundhead forces. Massie strongly opposed, with the whole weight of his influence, the designs of Cromwell upon the King's life, and in retaliation for that step was, with numerous others, committed to prison by the Protector. He escaped thence into Holland, and uniting himself to the fortunes of his young prince, Charles II., ever afterwards proved himself a loyal and distinguished servant of the Crown. At Worcester he received a dangerous wound, and fled for some distance in company with the King. Near Bromsgrove they parted, and Massie, unable to proceed on account of his wounds, resigned himself as a prisoner, at Broadgate, to the Countess of Stamford. When Sir George Booth afterwards succeeded in taking Chester for the King, Massie, by the same arrangement, made an attempt upon Gloucester. This time unsuccessful, he was again a prisoner; but in the depth of the night, his ancient

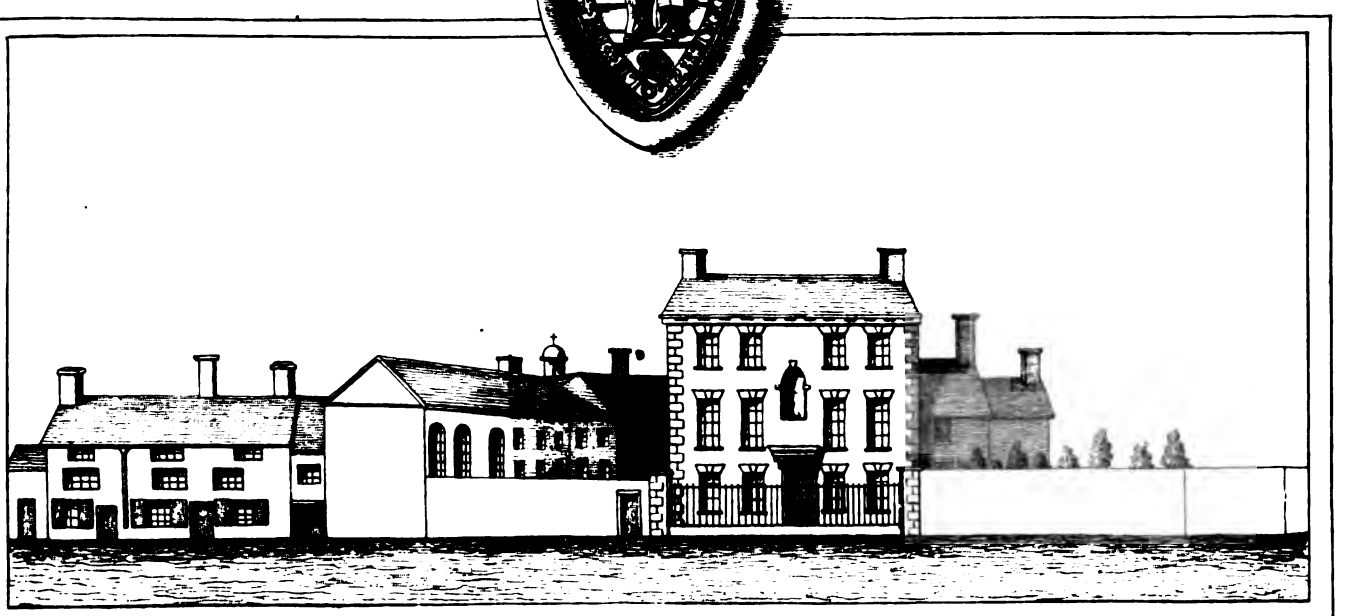
the loyal subject and friend of the unfortunate Charles I.,—and William Cowper, Mayor of Chester in 1741, the indefatigable Cheshire antiquary, are enough for our purpose. The original Overleigh Hall was demolished during the Civil War; but about 1662, the mansion, of which an illustration accompanies this notice, was erected by Thomas Cowper, son and heir of that loyal alderman who, side by side with King Charles and Sir Francis Gamul, witnessed the defeat of the Royalist forces from the leads of the Phœnix Tower. The male line of the Cowpers ceased in 1788, by the death of Thomas Cowper, Recorder of Chester, and Overleigh Hall thereupon passed to the Cholmondeleys of Vale Royal, representatives of the family in the female line.

In the beginning of the present century, the old hall of Overleigh was occupied as a school, under the able presidency of Mr. Smedley. Thither went William Henry Massie, in or about 1812, to improve an education which had been well commenced under the paternal roof. Ever dotingly fond of history, and of local history in particular, we can imagine how his young, yet watchful eye, dwelt on the wainscotted rooms, the ornamented ceilings, and generally characteristic interior of Overleigh Hall; the more so, when some romantic tale, some spirited incident in the history of the Cowper family, was related in his hearing by his well-informed tutor. He used often to say, that the new scenes he had visited, the strange places he had explored, and the tales he had heard in his earliest youth, had made a deeper impression, and were more easily remembered, than were the far more striking and circumstantial events of his later years. Hence it was that our Society was so often indebted to his well-stored memory for the clearing up of doubts, and the recollection of occurrences, which others, his local contemporaries, had long since forgotten.

To proceed with our narrative. Party spirit ran high at this time in Chester; and as his reverend father was a warm supporter of the House of Eaton, doubtless the "chivalrous cause of the yellows" was as warmly espoused by the light-hearted schoolboy. Be that as it may, amid the chances and changes of the third part of a century, his respect for the Grosvenor family, and their uniform friendship and regard for him, ceased only with his life. But of this more anon.

In process of time, or about 1822, William Massie bade adieu to Overleigh Hall, and immediately entered upon more important studies in the Free Grammar School of Macclesfield. Of an ancient foundation was Macclesfield School. Exactly 355 years ago, while Henry VII. swayed the sceptre of England, Sir John Percyvale, Knight,—who had served the office of Lord Mayor of London in 1498,—out of respect to the town "fast by the which" he was born, by his last will and testament founded, and endowed with some £10 a-year, the Free Grammar School of Macclesfield. In 1552, King Edward VI. still further endowed this infant

SEAL OF MACCLESFIELD FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.



MACCLESFIELD OLD SCHOOL,
CIRCA 1778

seminary, vested its management in trustees, and, setting aside altogether the claims of the worthy founder, caused the school to be called after his own royal name. The seal of the trustees, which is still in existence, will show that discipline was here rigidly enforced, and that the scholars were ruled, not indeed with a rod of iron, but with the more scholastic and primitive one of birch!

In 1750, the old School was sold, and larger premises purchased in Back Street, which had previously belonged to the late Sir Peter Davenport, Knight. Five years before, in the ever memorable 1745, and while this Jacobite knight held possession of the mansion, tradition declares that the Pretender, in passing through Macclesfield, slept a night in the house, and held his court there to receive all such friends as were not afraid to acknowledge the claims of the royal house of Stuart. Sir Peter, his host, who was related by marriage to the Leghs of Adlington, survived this visit only a very few months, his death being recorded in 1746.

Despite the changes which have been wrought in Macclesfield, and notwithstanding the School itself has migrated to newer and far nobler quarters, the old house which once afforded a welcome lodging to a prince,* still holds its head erect. It stands in one of the less frequented streets of the town, is a high and exceedingly capacious brick building, and, a century ago, occupied, with the school-rooms, three sides of a quadrangle. Albeit a 'dingy, dreary old pile,' as a reverend friend of ours has, no doubt correctly enough, termed it, yet the old Free School, as will be seen from our engraving, was, in its halcyon days, not without some slight architectural pretensions.† Close to the house is a small paved court, in which stands the principal school-room, built also of brick,—one or two class-rooms—and several little cells for studies, now rude and dilapidated, but in Mr. Massie's youthful days, no doubt cheerful little tenements. In an inner court stands the boys' dining room; and beyond this, separated by a high wall, stretches the School Field, in which generation after generation of Macclesfield Free Scholars have gambolled and played.

Of the succession of masters who, during something like three centuries and a half, presided over this useful establishment, but little is known, save that that eminent scholar and poet, John Brownsword, was head master of the School in the reign of Elizabeth. "He was," says Webb, in his *Vale Royal*, "a school-master of great fame for learning, and singular method of

* Another house in Macclesfield, we are fully aware, disputes with this one the dubious honour of having lodged the Pretender; but the evidence of tradition seems to be all in favour of the old Free School.

† The accompanying engraving is a reduced fac-simile of the original drawing, which forms the frontispiece to an early Minute Book of the Governors of the School, and may be considered a pretty correct representation of Macclesfield School a hundred years ago.

teaching, who, living many years, brought up most of the gentry of this shire." Acts of Parliament were at different times obtained for the better management of the School, and, early in the present century, it had attained a celebrity never equalled since the palmiest days of Brownswerd. The Rev. David Davies, D.D. was at this period Head Master of the School; and though his notions as to the meaning of a *free* education were but loose and distorted, he was universally acknowledged to possess, in no ordinary degree, the true genius and tact of a first-class preceptor.

To Macclesfield School, then, went William Henry Massie, at an age when the budding faculties of the boy were slowly and silently ripening into maturity. There, 'neath the fostering care of Dr. Davies, assisted by masters in every department of knowledge, did the youthful Cestrian pursue his arduous studies,—there did the lessons of piety and truthfulness, perseverance and high principle, taught him in infancy, "grow with his growth, and strengthen with his strength."

His career at Macclesfield, so far as we are aware, was not marked by any circumstances of peculiar interest. Diligent in his studies, and of a naturally active and retentive memory, he was often ahead of even his older school-fellows; yet there, at his desk, just as in after years in his parish, and among his antiquarian brethren, he was ever ready, nay anxious, to lend a helping hand where assistance was required. Many of his school-mates, who reaped the benefit of that timely aid, still live to remember this graceful trait in his early formed character. But while, in school, thus laudably attentive to his studies, and thoughtful toward those of less brilliant capacity,—in the intervals of play, on the old School green, few boys were then equal to young William Massie. Blessed with vigorous health, and with a spirit superior to every difficulty, he was soon acknowledged to be 'king of the school' in most out door amusements.

Twenty or thirty years afterwards, when with snow-white locks and furrowed brow, he revisited those scenes of his boyhood's delight, he still fondly remembered the days he had spent, and the games he had played on that soul-stirring green. The Rev. T. B. Cornish, the present Head Master, who accompanied him on that occasion through every room of the School, and saw him peer with moistened eye into every cranny and crevice of the venerated house, thus shortly dwells upon the scene:—"Since I have been Head Master, Mr. Massie once paid me a passing visit, in order to inspect the old scenes of his youth; and I spent a pleasant half-hour with him, in looking through every part of the old School building, and in watching the interest which men of taste and feeling always evince in re-visiting the haunts of their earlier days."

The old house is no longer the local centre of learning; neither the class-rooms, the dormitories, nor indeed anything about it, save the old School green, are now what they were in those bygone times. At the end

of the green, some few hundred yards from the site of the old buildings, stands the *New* Free School, and second master's house, a very handsome structure, erected in 1856, by Messrs. Bellhouse, of Manchester, and publicly opened in Midsummer of that year, when it was honoured by the presence of the amiable Bishop of Chester. Macclesfield School, at this moment, in an architectural as well as a scholastic point of view, is a credit to the town; and never, we are assured, during its lengthened existence, were the bounteous provisions of this royal foundation more freely and fairly administered than now.

Early in 1826, William Massie took leave of the old School, to do battle with life in a more extended sphere. His elder brother, Thomas, having previously selected the Navy for his profession, the hope of future distinction equally burned within the breast of the Macclesfield schoolboy. The East India service appeared just then to present a fair field for his aspirations, and his reverend father having had the offer made to him of a cadetship, he was, at the age of twenty, on November 12, 1826, gazetted to the 39th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry. The hour of parting from all his warm heart fondly cherished passed gloomily by; and the buoyant young ensign was soon ploughing the mighty deep on his voyage towards India. Then, at short intervals, came those letters to his family, so full of hope for himself, and of dutiful affection for those he had left behind him in dear old Chester,—letters which deserve, and are some of them not unlikely, to be given to the world.

He was now in Bengal, and on duty with his regiment, 'neath a burning sun, and in a climate at all times most trying to Europeans. Dysentery and fever were raging around him, prostrating alike both officers and men; but still, amidst all, his proud heart never quailed, though scores of his countrymen were falling before him. Constantly hovering about the sick beds of his poor sepoys,—there, in that tropical region, attending and soothing the last pangs of his comrades, he gleaned the first fruits of that solid experience, afterwards so valuable to him in his parochial labours.

In 1827-8, while serving with his detachment on an inland station, we find him gradually developing an antiquarian spirit; and in the listless hours of absence from the sterner calls of duty, intently surveying and carefully sketching the ancient monuments of Buddhism, in the very centre of India. Alone, or accompanied by some young brother officer, of the like passion with himself, he climbs the mountain steeps near the village of Bhilsa, and the not far distant hill of Sanchee; and there, among the tombs of a people long forgotten, and with the genuine touch of an original artist, makes drawings in coffee of the quaint bas-reliefs and the still quainter sculpture then present to his view. An agitating moment this for our friend, a turning point in his chequered career! It was his first descent into the antiquarian mine; but the ore then produced was sufficient to

excite, and slowly to confirm this intellectual taste; and from that time forward, whether 'on India's coral strand,' on the richer fields of Belgium or France, or in the nearer and dearer abiding-places of Cheshire, archæological pursuits bore a charm to him wholly irresistible.

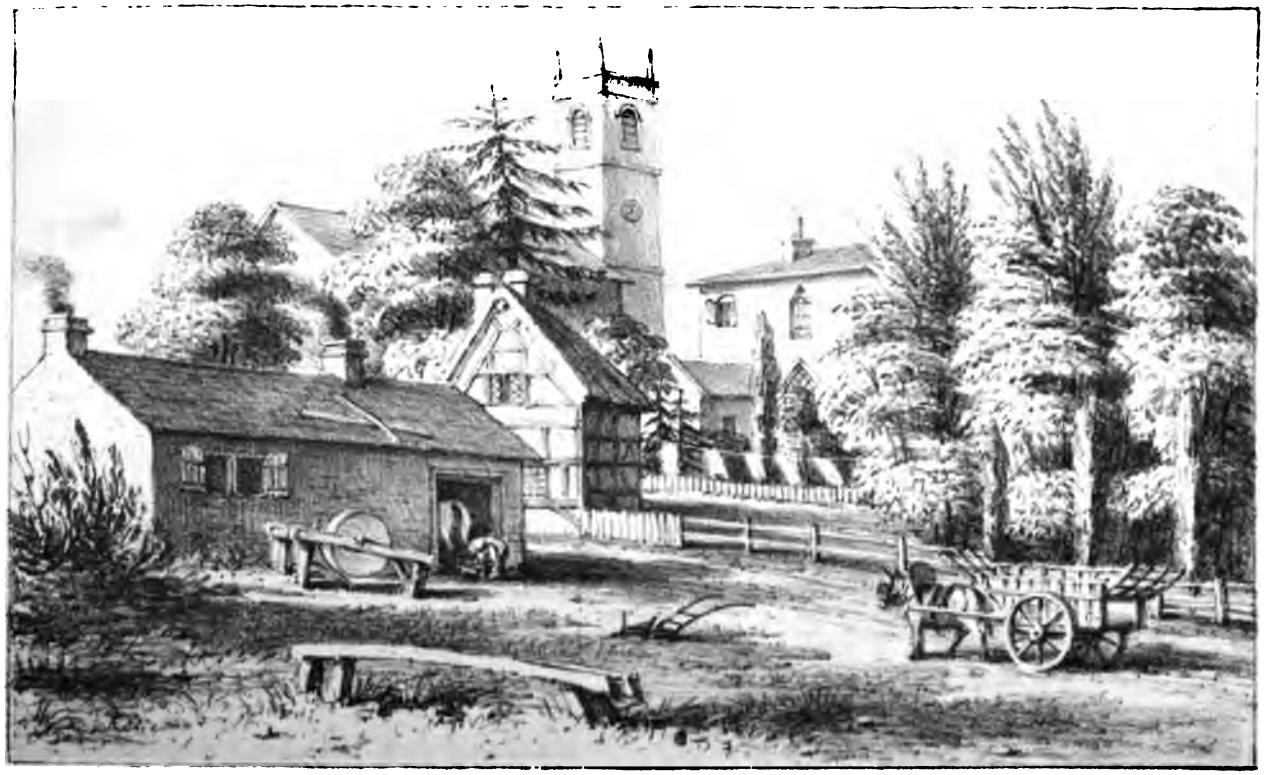
But while prosecuting studies, it may be, in some degree, alien to his profession, he never neglected or shrank from his duty; for in all those qualities which elevate and adorn the true British soldier, he was acknowledged to be a credit alike to his name, and to the uniform he wore.

His third summer in Bengal found him stretched on a bed of sickness, and that, too, a sickness of more than ordinary virulence. That formerly strong and vigorous frame, which until now had been a stranger to every kind of disease, was bowed down to the very earth by inflammation of the liver, and its attendant fever! Though it pleased God, in His mercy, to preserve him at that time from the jaws of the grave, he was left in a state of such grievous bodily debility, that his physicians recommended an immediate return home. Accordingly we find him, after a residence in India of rather less than four years, applying for and obtaining the required sick leave.

He returned to England in 1830, a mere wreck of his former self,—a complete shadow, so to speak, of the hardy young man who, in 1826, exchanged Macclesfield School for an Indian cadetship. When he parted from his comrades in that far off land, he little dreamed he was bidding them a last farewell; but so it was ordained by an Allwise Providence. His family and friends, observing the fearful havoc a few years had made with his youthful frame, were unanimous in opposing his return to India; and even William Massie himself was beginning to feel that he had mistaken his vocation. His father had for a long series of years been a diligent and consistent servant of God in the ministry of His Church; and thitherward the young invalid was impelled by the fond advice of his friends, and by the 'still small voice' of the monitor from within. Having once decided upon this serious step, Mr. Massie threw up his appointment in India, and forthwith devoted his time and abilities to the preparation for that sacred office which was his manifest destiny.

Dublin University was the chosen theatre of his preliminary studies for the ministry, and there he matriculated in 1832. His career at Trinity College was not unworthy of the man; for we find him attaining the University Prizes both for Classics and Ethics, as well as being elected King's Prizeman for his "Essay on the Evidences of Christianity." Whilst reading at Dublin, as we learned from his own mouth, he was not asleep to the glorious antiquities of the sister kingdom, many of which, in the intervals of leisure, he visited and studied with no common interest.

Follow him thence to his own native city, and see him in the spring of 1834, ordained to the sacred office of a Deacon, by Dr. Sumner, the present



GOOSTREY CHAPEL AND PARSONAGE.

From the North.

Archbishop of Canterbury, at that time presiding over the See of Chester. He was now twenty eight, but in outward appearance and shaken constitution at least a dozen years older. Just six years previously, his second sister, Hester Susanna, had been married to the Rev. John Armitstead, M.A., then as now the respected Vicar of Sandbach, in this county. From him William Massie obtained his title to holy orders, being licensed to Goostrey, a small curacy suffragan to the mother church of Sandbach. Of this quiet little nook in a secluded part of Cheshire, a few historic notes may here be appropriately introduced.

Goostrey, or as it was anciently spelt, Gostre,* in the Hundred of Northwich, is a township washed by a small running brook, and is situate seven miles N.N.E. from Sandbach. At the time of the Domesday Survey it was jointly held by the feudal barons of Halton and Montalt. From them it early passed by grant to the Abbey of St. Werburgh at Chester, and continued to be a portion of the immense revenues of that abbey until the general dissolution of monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII. The Abbot of Chester had a manor-house in Goostrey, as well as in the adjoining township of Barnshaw, and to his annual court, for something like a period of 400 years, all the tenants of the chapelry did suit and service. The monks were empowered by a charter from one Michael de Gostre "to embank a lake for the use of their Mill at Goostrey, and also to serve them as a vivary or fishpond." There is still a mill at Goostrey; and in all probability it occupies the site of the one built for "my lord the abbot" in the 13th century. The manor-house itself is supposed by Dr. Ormerod to have stood within the space of "the present chapel yard, which exhibits vestiges of a fortified parallelogram. The east and north sides face almost precipitously to a deep dingle below, and the other sides appear to have been strengthened by a deep fosse, which is now almost wholly filled up on the south, but may be traced along a deeply sunken highway on the west." When the royal hurricane of desolation swept over the religious houses of this country, Goostrey and Barnshaw shared the general fate, becoming vested in the family of the Mainwarings of Carincham, from whom they passed by sale to their namesakes of Peover, who are the present lords of these united manors.

Goostrey Chapel had an existence prior to A.D. 1205, as appears by a license yet preserved in the *Chartulary of St. Werburgh*, authorising Abbot Thomas de Capenhurst to found a chantry at Barnshaw. Originally the

* Goostrey is of doubtful etymology. In some parts of England *Goosetree* and *Goslings* are terms applied to the blossoms of the willow; and perhaps *our* Goostrey may derive its name from the profusion of willows at one time clothing the banks of its little stream. Curiously enough, there is a *Gosling Green*, watered by the same brook, some three or four miles from Goostrey.

parishioners of Goostrey had to bury their dead at the mother church of Sandbach; but in consideration of the distance between the two places, and "the danger from inundations," from the River Dane, as we suppose, a license was, in 1350, obtained for a cemetery to be attached to the chapel of ease at Goostrey.

Though the greater number of English churches since the Conquest have been constructed of stone, the minor fanes of our more secluded villages, especially those in the vicinity of large forests, were not unfrequently built up of wood. Such was the case with Marton, Eccleston, Lower Peover, and Siddington, in this county, and such was also the case with the chapel of ease at Goostrey. There are those yet living who remember the pretty little fabric of timber, in which, 65 years ago, the churchmen of Goostrey were wont to assemble, and to approach the Throne of Grace with their united offerings of prayer and praise. How different is the prospect now! In 1792, it was suddenly discovered that the building, where the parishioners of Goostrey had worshipped for many a long century, was quite unfitted to its sacred purpose. In a spirit of vandalism too prevalent at that period, the venerable fabric was condemned to destruction, while in its place arose an edifice of brick, which has little to commend itself either to the architect or antiquary. Mr. Massie himself, in his interesting paper on the "Timber Churches of Cheshire," thus facetiously treats of it at page 302 of the Chester Archæological Society's *Journal*:—"My old cure at Goostrey had a 'black and white' chapel, from about A.D. 1200 to 1790, which, at the last *interesting* era in the history of national architecture, was supplanted, at a cost of £1,700, by a brick nave and tower, from a design by the village brick-setter, with flat ceiling adorned with a pretty circle of red and green christmas in the centre; and four substantial milestones at each angle of the square steeple, wherein three bells rang to the tune of 'three blind mice' on many a happy occasion, as I hope they do still. On enquiry, I found that the bitter cold of the thin walls had there brought about the abandonment of the old 'wooden walls' of England: if so, I can affirm that the remedy is, in this respect, as bad as the disease."

We have given two engravings of the exterior of Goostrey Chapel,* and would have gladly done the like with the interior of a building which was so long the scene of our deceased friend's ministrations; but we have deferred to the better judgment of a lady correspondent, who assures us that "the interior of the chapel is not worth delineating, possessing not

* We must not omit thankfully to acknowledge, though it be but in general terms, the assistance rendered to us by several kind friends in the compilation of this memoir. To Mrs. C. Gresley, of Lichfield, we owe an especial debt of gratitude for the readiness with which she contributed from her folio the three pencil drawings of Goostrey which accompany the present paper.



GOOSTREY CHAPEL AND PARSONAGE

one solitary feature of interest." Another fair correspondent follows in the same strain:—"As for the inside of the church, it is so completely devoid of architectural beauty,—an oblong straight church, with pews, a gallery at one end, and a ceiling better suited to a meeting-house than to an ecclesiastical building,—that I am sure a sketch of it would not be appreciated, nor would Mr. Massie himself have wished it to be perpetuated in the Archæological Society's *Journal*." Such being the case, we will here simply observe, on the authority of Dr. Ormerod, that the old font belonging to the chapel is of octagonal form, ornamented with quatrefoils in panels round the upper parts, and with shields round the base, the bearings of which latter are now defaced. There are monuments to the Baskervilles and Gleggs of Withington, the Booths of Twemlow, and other families of the neighbourhood.

To return to our subject:—Mr., or as we must now call him, the Rev. W. H. Massie, is duly ordained to the curacy of Goostrey, and at once addresses himself to the active discharge of his ministerial functions. He proceeds to his new home, with a mind fully conscious of the responsibilities that await him, but yet hopefully relying on the friendly co-operation of his future parishioners. The village of Goostrey is very soon reached, and there, in that usually quiet retreat, a crowd is assembled, it may be to meet their newly-appointed pastor,—"to give him a welcome, and bid him God speed." The heart of William Massie beats high at the thought! Still nearer he draws to the motley group, and there, in the midst, fast bound to a stake on a huge pile of faggots, he sees to his amazement a figure dressed out in full clerical costume. They, the people of Goostrey, the flock over whom he is constituted the shepherd, are, with one accord, actually burning him in effigy! A people whom he had never seen, and who had never before set eyes upon him, were hailing his coming with marked indignity! It appears that at the time when the curacy became vacant, the parishioners had, in their own minds, selected one they deemed to be the most fit and proper minister to officiate amongst them. The patron, on his part, had made choice of another, and hence it was that the whole chapelry was up in arms to receive his nominee with one shout of defiance! In very truth this was a greeting fit to damp the courage of an ordinary man, but such, we are proud to know, was not William Massie! He felt he had himself done nothing to provoke such a manifestation; so, with that knowledge of human nature acquired during his honourable career as a soldier, he at once set to work to bring the rebels of his fold back again to their allegiance. It is gratifying to know that in this, as in most other matters he took in hand, he was eminently successful. In far less time than it takes some young clergymen to make a common acquaintance by a single parochial call, Mr. Massie well knew, and was personally known to every resident in the chapelry; he had found his way, not alone into the cheerful dwellings

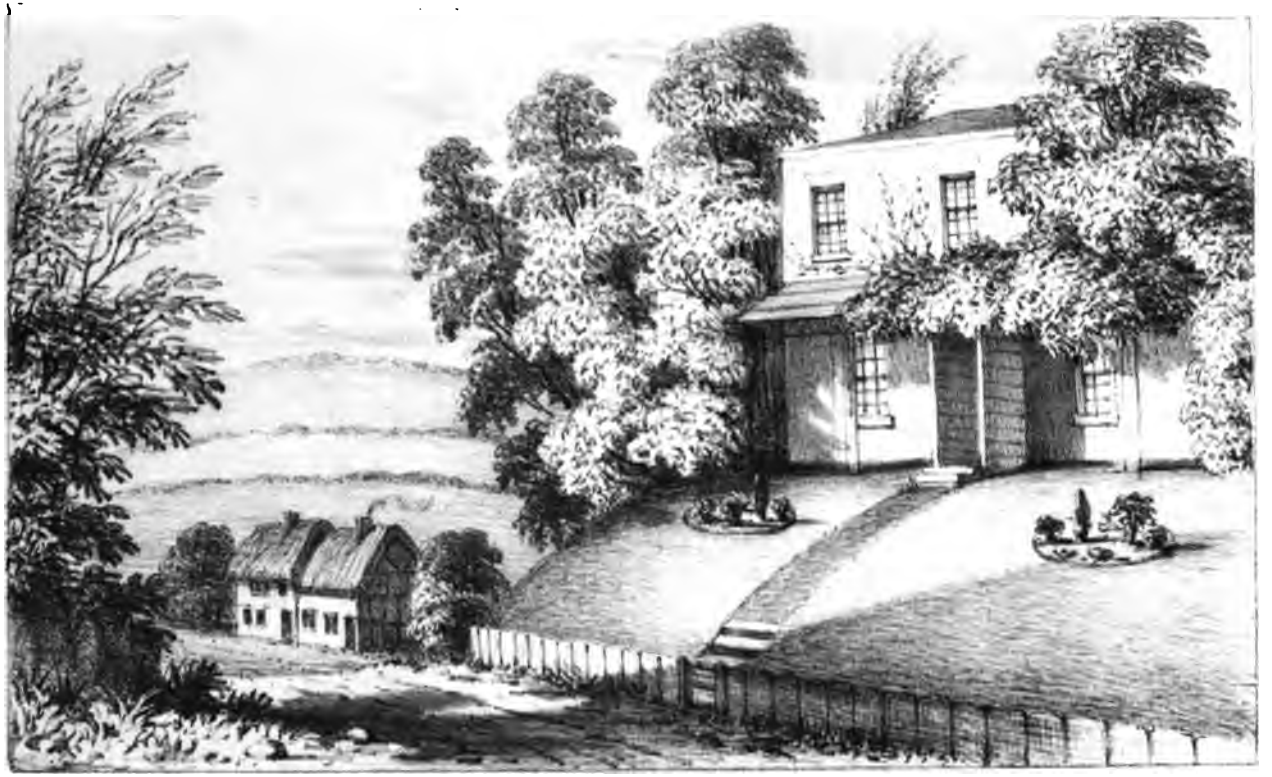
of the rich, but also into the humbler cottages of the poor. With him the distinctions between poverty and wealth were wholly cast aside. The poor labourer or mechanic, with virtue on his side, was to him a better man and a worthier companion than one rolling in riches, but without reputation. What the world calls pride was a morbid sentiment foreign to his mind. His meekness and self-denial soon won upon the hearts of his Goostrey flock,—the men who had ignorantly gathered, but a few months before, round his burning effigy, were now warmest in his praise. The rebellion once rampant had ceased to exist,—the spirit of opposition had yielded to that of love!

Mr. Massie spent the first year of his clerical life beneath the roof of his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Armitstead, at the Hermitage,* in the adjoining chapelry of Church Hulme. In 1835, having completed the full term of his diaconate, he was again in Chester Cathedral, where, reverently kneeling at the altar of St. Werburgh, he received from his Bishop the sacred order of the priesthood. After a few days spent at home with his venerated parents, he returned to Goostrey, and busied himself, as heretofore, with the spiritual welfare of those committed to his charge. A sense of duty, as there no longer existed any necessity for doing so, would not permit him to reside away from his parishioners; so with mingled feelings of joy and regret he parted from his affectionate friends at the Hermitage, and furnished for himself the little Parsonage at Goostrey.

The Parsonage, as it then existed, was a neat but unpretending house, occupying the brow of the chapel hill. A white stuccoed cottage, with a sloping garden in front, and a verandah running partially round two of its sides, small, yet comfortable rooms, plainly and very inexpensively furnished —such was the modest little Parsonage at Goostrey some 20 years ago! It has been considerably altered and enlarged since then; but the view now before us represents the house as it was when the shadow of William Henry Massie rested upon its walls.

Duly installed into his new abode, the mind of the young incumbent is still actively engaged in magnifying his office, and, like a faithful parish priest, he marks out for himself, once for all, a regular course of parochial visitation. Constantly, as week after week rolled away, might his form be seen moving noiselessly about from one extremity of his scattered district to another,—now visiting the sick, or relieving the destitute of his flock,—

* The Hermitage is beautifully situate in a deep and rich vale on the banks of the river Dane, and, although belonging ecclesiastically to Holmes Chapel, is in point of fact in the township of Cranage. As its name imports, it was originally a hermit's cell, and was at that time connected with the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem. A small rent-charge from this property is paid in aid of the Blue Coat School at Cranage.



COOSTREY PARSONAGE

As it existed when [illegible] by the Late Rev: W.H Mussie

here encouraging the young, there cheering the aged,—now praising the good, there reproving the evil. But why need *we* attempt to describe the path, or to herald forth the praises of this "good shepherd," when our venerable Bishop, in a recent Visitation Charge, has himself, all undesignedly, performed the grateful task? Had he painted the glowing picture from the life, he could not have produced a truer portrait of our lamented friend! "The Good Shepherd's path," observes his Lordship, "is, where his heart is, by the still waters. Mark where the minister of the Gospel is faithful to his office, labouring to fulfil its duties with singleness of heart and fervency of zeal; training the young, comforting the aged, lightening, as his heavenly Master loved to lighten, the burdens of all who travail and are heavy laden on life's rough way; teaching his people the sincere word of truth; not dazzling their imaginations with a vain display of ceremonial pageantry, nor disturbing their minds with the endless subtleties of unprofitable controversy, but instructing them in wholesome doctrine out of the Holy Scriptures; and endeavouring, both by precept and example, to maintain charity, peace, and love among all Christian people, but specially among such as are committed to his own charge! Mark where the Christian minister, faithful to his Ordination vows, thus pursues the path of duty, and keeps the even tenor of his way,—there you will see also the hearts of his people drawn to him with responsive affection and grateful attachment. His flock will know and will follow his voice. It need not always be the voice of eloquence, so it be but the voice of kindness and truth." A faithful epitome this, albeit a purely accidental one, of Mr. Massie's eminently pious career!

Year after year rolled on, and our friend was still at Goostrey,—his flock unwilling to lose him, and he himself as little desirous to go away. Two years prior to his becoming resident there, viz. in 1832, his reverend father had been presented by his early friend, the first Marquis of Westminster, to the living of Eccleston, near Chester. His second brother, too, had won his way to the rank of Commander in the Royal Navy, from which he was, in 1841, as a well-earned reward for his services, elevated to Post rank. Others of his brethren were also rising in life; but the Incumbent of Goostrey was still contented and happy in his small village cure. It was not in his nature, however, to be idle, and a new sphere of exertion was now gradually unfolding itself to his mind.

Moving so incessantly about in his parish, he was oftentimes struck with the distance at which many of his people resided from the chapel at Goostrey,—a distance so great as, in some instances, virtually to preclude them from anything like regular attendance at Divine worship. To remedy this defect,—to provide, in short, a fold for the spiritually destitute of his flock, was a labour of love worthy of Mr. Massie, and one which, as we shall see, he was not slow to embark in.

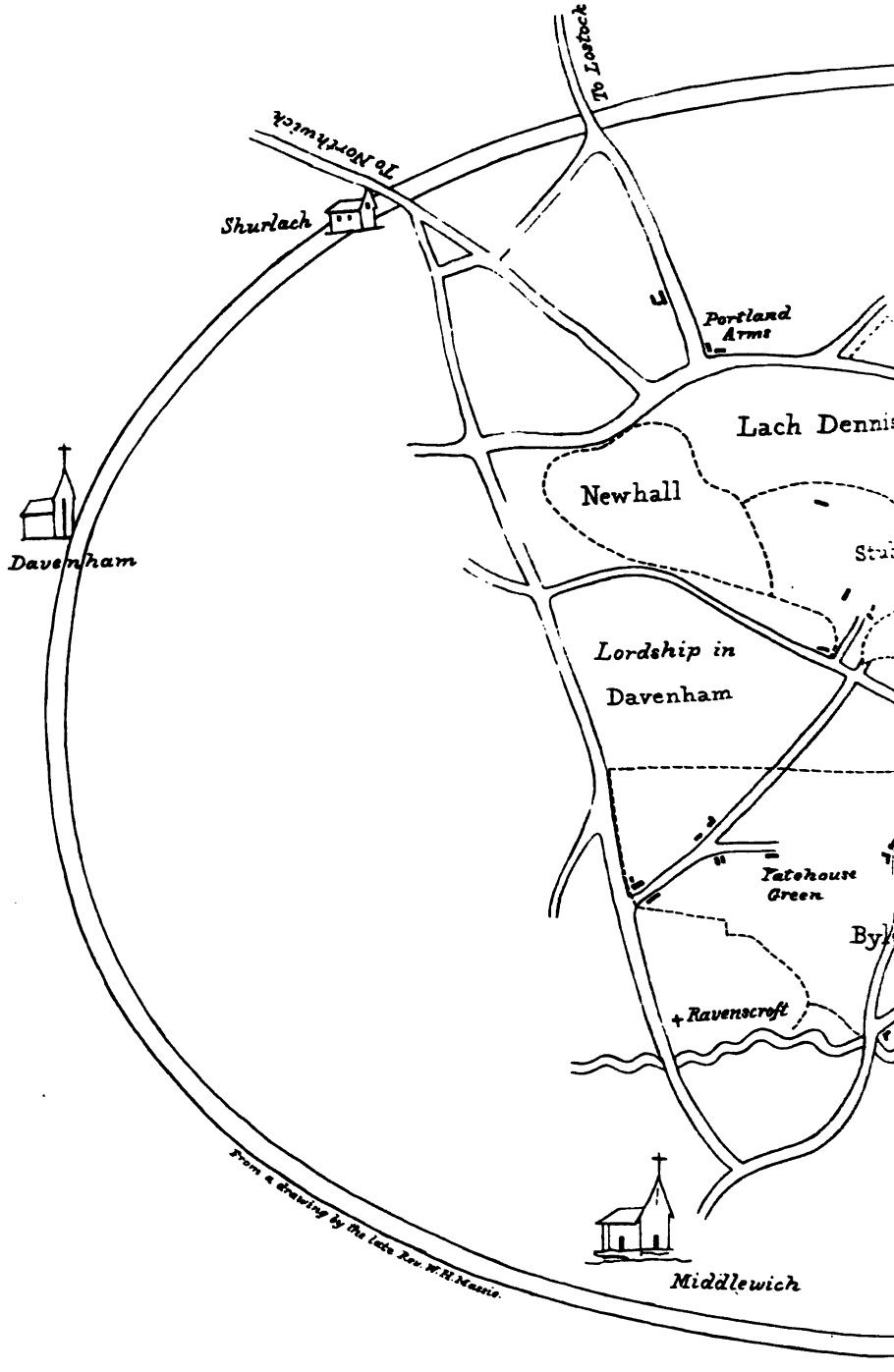
The township of Lees, about three miles from Middlewich, had from time immemorial belonged to the chapelry of Goostrey. Perfectly isolated by its position from that chapelry, lying indeed some three miles away, it occupied the centre of an extensive tract, which for an equal distance in every direction, was wholly without any authorised means of grace. True, Mr. Massie had caused a school to be erected there some years before, beneath the roof of which, in the warm summer evenings, he used to celebrate Divine service and expound the Word of God; but this was not enough to satisfy our friend.

He first enlisted the sympathies of the Vicars of Middlewich and Sandbach, as well as the other ruling powers; and having obtained the promise of a site from Sir C. P. Shakerley, representative in the female line of the Amsons of Lees, he prepared boldly to face his self-imposed task. He drew out and lithographed with his own hands a plan of the district, embracing Byley and Stublach in Middlewich parish, Drakelow in Davenham, Earnshaw and Cranage in Holmes Chapel, Lees in Goostrey, and a small portion of Peover. These were to be formed into a separate ecclesiastical district, under the name of Byley-cum-Lees, in the centre of which he proposed that a Church should be erected, to accommodate a population of 600 souls. An oval ring around the printed plan was made to pass through the seven nearest churches, thereby shewing at once to the eye the great need that existed for the erection of a church within those limits. A ground plan, and rough outline elevation of the proposed church ornamented one corner of the sketch.

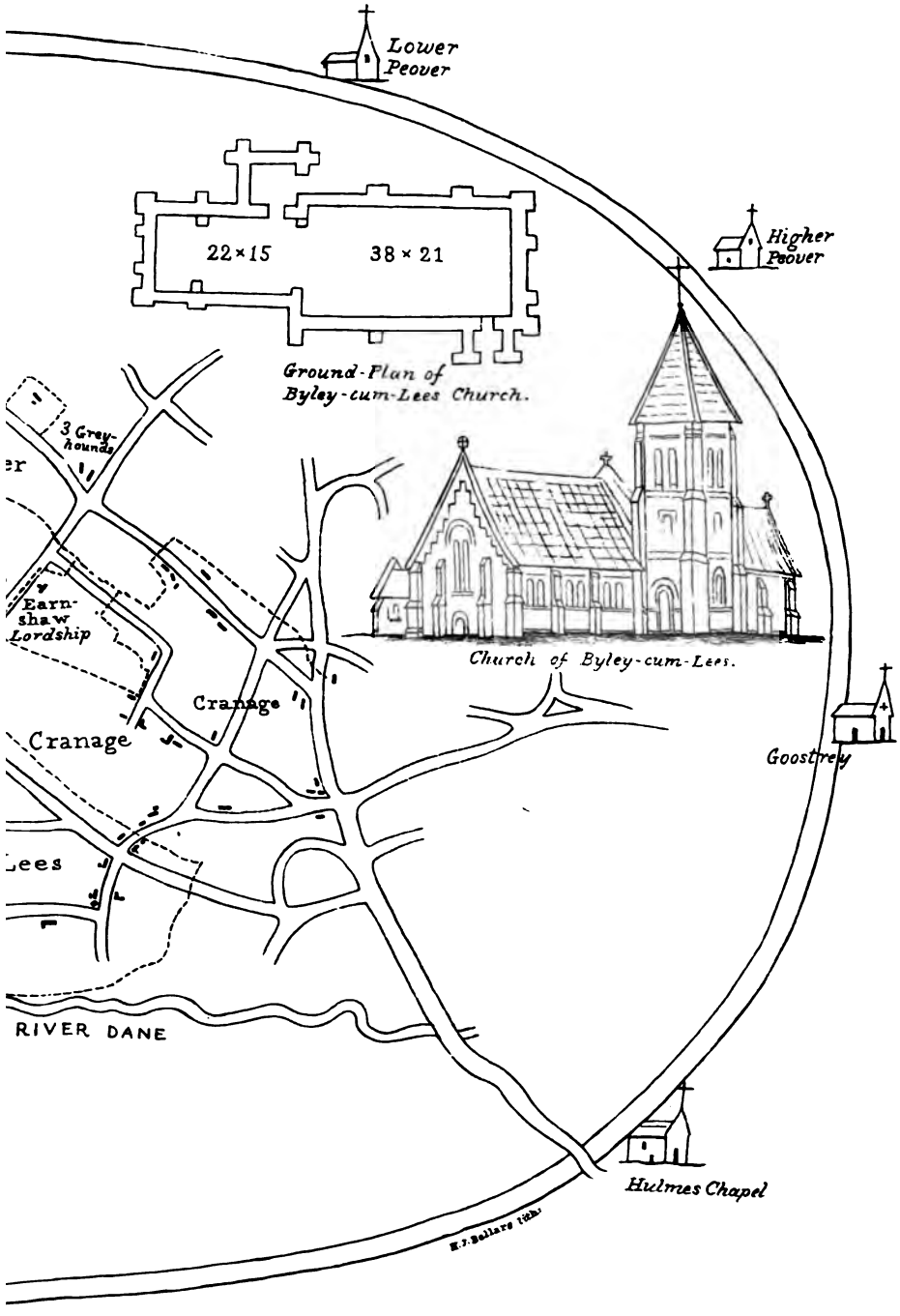
Thus prepared, Mr. Massie set resolutely to work with his subscription list, *five shillings* being the first donation he received towards a work which was to cost near a thousand pounds to bring it to completion! His heart and soul, however, were in his work, and in a short space of time, thanks to the respect and love felt for him by friends and relations, the paltry five shillings had increased to almost as many hundred pounds!

The land was now prepared for building, Mr. Massie himself superintending the workmen, and acting throughout in the three-fold capacity of architect, builder, and clerk of the works! The sum of £290 was obtained towards the work from the various Church Building Societies; and amongst the other leading contributors were the ever charitable Queen Dowager, Dr. Brandreth, J. F. France, Esq. of Bostock, Egerton Leigh, sen. Esq., Major Egerton Leigh, the Venerable Archdeacon Wood, Lord de Tabley, the Revds. E. Royds, T. France, J. Darcey, J. Thorneycroft, and G. Greenall, L. Armitstead, Esq, T. Booth, Esq., Mrs. Tipping, Randle Wilbraham, jun. Esq., C. K. Mainwaring, Esq., the Rev. W. H. Massie, &c. &c.

And now came the day for the laying of the first stone,—the 29th of July, 1846. It was a day to be had in remembrance in Byley-cum-Lees for then was to be commenced the erection of an edifice consecrated to the



MAP OF BYLEY-CUM-L



DISTRICT ROUND.



BYLEY-CUM-LEES CHURCH,
CHESHIRE.

service of Almighty God. With prayer and praise, in the sight of those assembled, the workmen lowered the foundation stone; after which loaves of bread were distributed under Mr. Massie's direction to the poor labourers around.

The good work rapidly progressed. Mr. Massie, as we have before stated, was himself the architect,—the design of the church in its every detail, externally and internally, being all his own. It is substantially a red brick building, with blue bricks introduced in patterns; the window sills and facings are of white tiles or bricks, the buttresses only being constructed of white stone. In designing the church, Mr. Massie selected the Norman style of architecture; and albeit a simple brick edifice, and the work of an amateur, we believe it would not disgrace a professional ecclesiologist. It consists of a nave 38 feet long by 21 feet wide, a chancel measuring 22 by 15 feet, a tower on the south side of the chancel, and a neat little porch at the north-west end. Standing close to the road between Middlewich and Knutsford, Byley Church has a picturesque and striking appearance when approached from the former town; in fact, its general ecclesiastical character is such as cannot be claimed for any other modern brick church in the county.

Internally, the Church has a very chaste, symmetrical appearance, with an aisle up the centre, and open seats on either side. The chancel is elevated a few steps above the body of the church: the font, which is at the west end, was presented to the parishioners by Mr. Massie. The vestry occupies the base of the tower, and opens appropriately into the chancel. Altogether, to use the words of a correspondent, "it is a very pretty church within, with nicely turned arches, and as much architectural decoration as the means would allow." To the people of Byley it has been a most precious boon, and will be, as we hope, to them and their children's children

"A house for prayer, and love, and full harmonious praise."

On Thursday, the 14th of October, 1847, the consecration took place. The day was remarkably fine,—the glorious sunshine of heaven enlivened the little hamlet, blessing, as it were, the completion of the good work. The attendance of the clergy, gentry, and yeomen of the neighbourhood was numerous and encouraging, and as for the Church itself, it was full to overflowing, 300 persons being counted in an edifice built to hold but two-thirds of that number. Numbers of people stood beneath the windows in the churchyard, unable to gain admission. Upwards of £50 was collected on the occasion, which, with a few donations afterwards sent in, completely freed the little building from debt.

The erection of a church at Byley was Mr. Massie's great wish from the time he first settled at Goostrey; and it was completed only a very short

time before his removal from the neighbourhood. A few weeks afterwards the Rectory of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, at Chester, became vacant by the cession of the Rev. Canon Eaton. This living, which is in the gift of the Marquis of Westminster, is the most valuable of all the poorly endowed rectories of Chester; and the noble patron, with his usual discrimination, and a lively recollection of early friendship, at once nominated the Rev. William Massie to the vacancy.

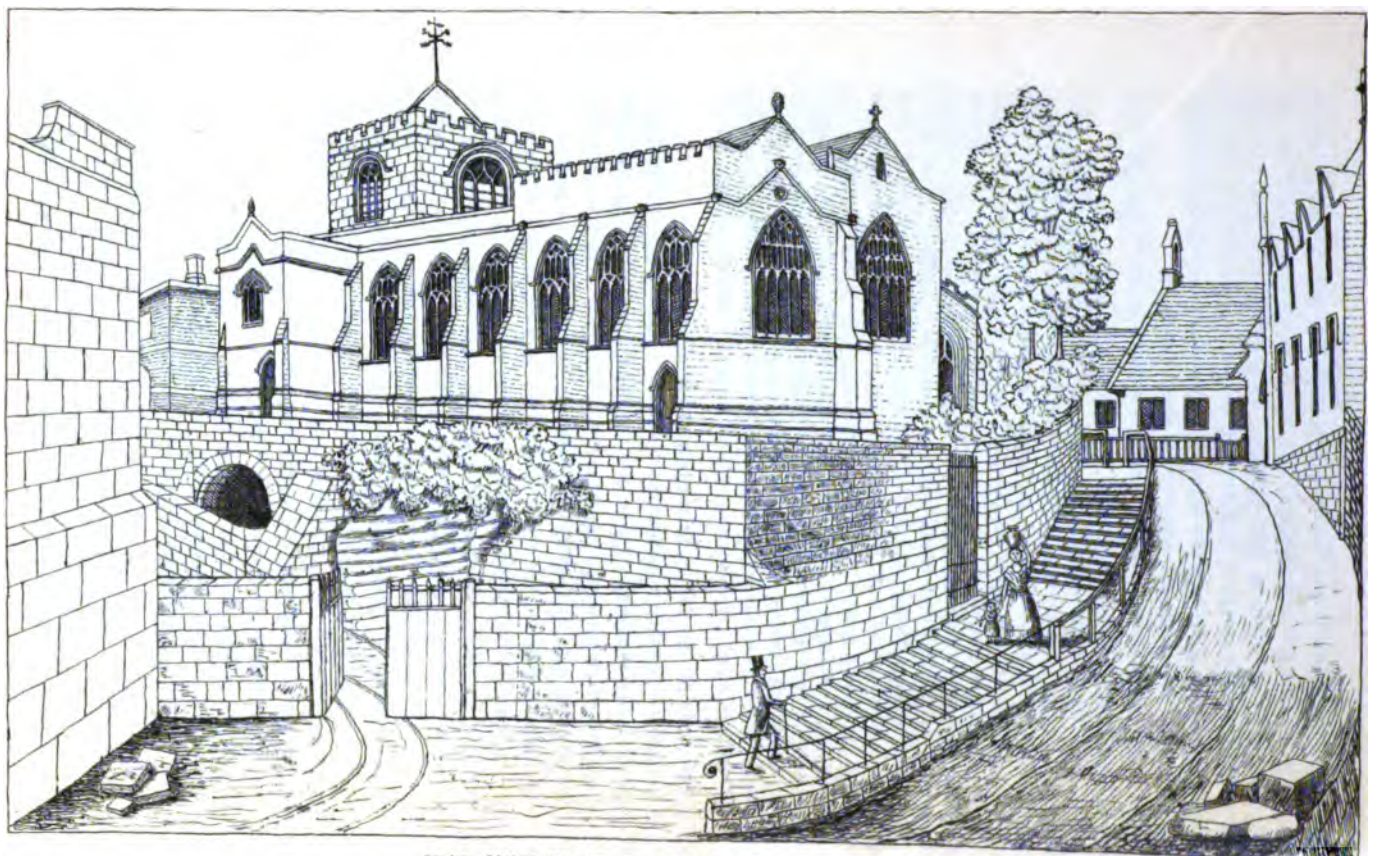
When it became known in Goostrey that their faithful pastor was about to bid them farewell, the one sole feeling of the parishioners appeared to be, that they were parting with one who had endeared himself to them all, as a warm temporal adviser and a sincere spiritual friend. Does any one enquire the secret of that success which attended him at Goostrey? Take for answer the following, from one who was long a near neighbour of Mr. Massie in his hamlet home:—"If there was one peculiarity about him more remarkable than another, it was his admirable tact and discretion. Unlike many well-meaning young clergymen of inferior judgment, who mark out a certain course to be pursued in their new parish, in spite of everything and everybody,—which results, in many cases, in turning friends into enemies, and bringing things, as we see in many parishes, to a dead lock,—he, on the contrary, consulted everybody's feelings; and though most decided upon matters of *principle*, never allowed puerile trifles to interfere with his general usefulness. The consequence was, that his opponents became, in many cases, his warmest supporters; in short, I believe it may be said of him, that he never made an enemy, and never lost a friend!"

We have now arrived at a point at which, owing to the limited space at our disposal, it will be necessary to cut our simple narrative short This is the less to be regretted, seeing that the later events of Mr. Massie's life are already well known to the majority of our readers; in addition to which a memoir, on a much more extended scale, is known to be in preparation by a member of his family.

Settled down once more in the city of his birth, his active spirit was soon upon the alert for some new field for labour, some fresh opportunity for laudable exertion. Nor was that hope to remain long ungratified, as we shall presently see.

His first year at St. Mary's brought him into personal acquaintance with most of his parishioners; for having tested at Goostrey the importance of frequent house-to-house visitation, he lost no time in introducing it here. And with the happiest results,—for many a poor soul in the dark purlieus of Handbridge, mercifully rescued from sin and degradation, still gratefully dwells on the fruits of that intercourse, still blesses the memory of good William Massie!

Within twelve months of his removal to Chester, he was elected by the



THE CHURCH OF SAINT MARY ON THE HILL,

H.J Dalton lith.

Dean and Chapter to a Minor Canonry in the Cathedral. This appointment, while it added considerably to his daily duties, enabled him, at the same time, more fully to carry out his pious schemes of charity and benevolence. The money drawn by Mr. Massie from the revenues of the Church went not to enrich his own private purse,—his inclination rather led him to the opposite extreme,—for it seemed as if his "only desire was to spend and be spent in his Master's service." No child of poverty who sought the Rectory door was ever, with his consent, sent empty away.

In 1849, when the cholera swept like a scourge o'er the land, the Rector of St. Mary's shone modestly conspicuous among his Chester brethren in facing the realities of that dread distemper. Wherever in his parish the plague spot appeared, there in the midst was the faithful pastor to be found, like the good Samaritan of old "pouring in oil and wine," and in every possible way soothing the pangs of misery and despair, while leading the minds of his prostrate flock to the only true Source of health and safety. A medical gentleman, whose practice, at that time, led him much into St. Mary's parish, has more than once declared to us that he never saw an equal to Mr. Massie in the house of sickness. Fearless in the midst of fear, he knelt at the infected couch, and often, with his own hands, performed those necessary duties for the dead and dying, from which even experienced nurses shrank with dismay! The *Chester Courant* thus glowingly sums up the valued career of this soldier of Christ:—

"As a clergyman, he was most active, earnest, and exemplary in the discharge of his pastoral ministrations; there was not a parishioner with whom he was not acquainted, and in whose welfare he did not take all the warm interest of a friend. Of the wants of the poor he was ever mindful, and constantly carried to their lowly dwellings, not only the consoling messages of Divine truth, but the welcome offerings of ready charity. In whatever family there was sickness or sorrow, he was always a cheering friend, and an affectionate adviser, who felt that he lived only for the sake of others; and whose sole desire was 'to spend and be spent' in doing his heavenly Master's work, and in relieving the spiritual wants and temporal necessities of the people committed to his parochial charge. In the promotion of religious education he was persevering and judicious; and the satisfactory state of the schools in his parish is the best evidence of his solicitude for the little ones of his flock—the lambs of the Great Shepherd's fold. As a preacher he was eminently earnest and practical, combining a convincing persuasiveness with the 'simplicity of Christ.'"

These are the words of one who was long a warm friend of Mr. Massie's, and we know them to be the words of sincerity and truth.

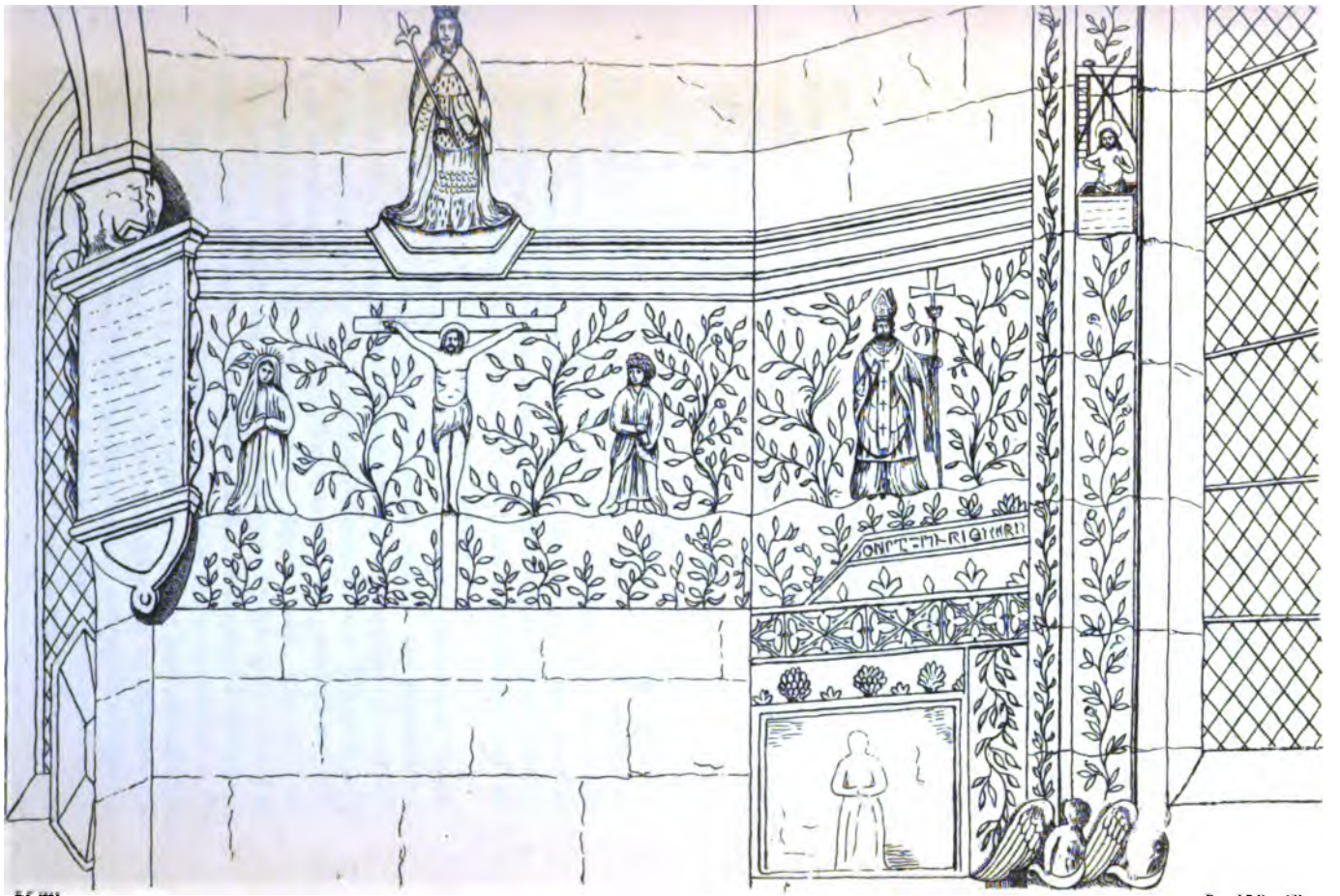
The Church of St. Mary's is a venerable structure, presenting externally, however, no special marks of architectural beauty. The extreme east wall was rebuilt in the time of Mr. Massie's predecessor, the Rev. Thomas Eaton, M.A., now Vicar of Eastham, and Canon of Chester Cathedral. To this latter gentleman is due several of the improvements noticeable in the

interior of the edifice, as, for example, the restoration of the monuments of the three Randle Holmes, Cheshire antiquaries of note in the seventeenth century.

No sooner was Mr. Massie appointed to the living, than he at once set his heart on beautifying the church over which he was constituted the guardian. Witness his laudable attack on the high pews,—witness, too, the changes he effected in the chancel! In fact, it is impossible to turn either to the right hand or the left of that fine old structure, without acknowledging the sound taste of him who conceived and set forward the good work.

The south side of the church was restored about this time, and during the progress of that work a mural painting was discovered by Mr. Massie on the inner face of the wall, in a line with the pulpit. It was known, indeed, to be in existence some years before, but the learned churchwardens of that day would not suffer the venerated whitewash to be disturbed. Mr. Massie, however, met with better success; and with the full consent of the then wardens, carefully removed every inch of the plaster, unveiling to the sight a painting upon the wall of unusual interest. The subjects, so far as they have been laid bare, represent, in the principal compartment, the Crucifixion of Our Lord, the figures on either side of the Cross being, to all appearance, St. Mary, and "that other disciple whom Jesus loved." On the right hand wall, an archbishop is depicted, in full eucharistic vestments, conspicuous among which are the mitre and chasuble, the tunic and alb, with the two special emblems of archiepiscopal dignity,—the purple crossed pall, and stately crozier. Underneath this high ecclesiastical personage, a small label may be seen, bearing traces of an inscription, now quite illegible. Immediately over the Saviour is the figure of a king, right royally robed, and who, judging from the open crown and other details, may be fairly set down as Henry VI. of England. The shape of the mitre, too, which is clearly of the 15th century, is quite in accordance with this supposition. The upright jamb of the adjoining window has not escaped the notice of our mediæval artist. He there presents us with a demi-figure of the Saviour, apparently issuing from the tomb, with, in the back-ground, the ladder, the "sponge filled with vinegar, and placed upon a reed," the Tau Cross, and the spear, faithful emblems of His Passion. Altogether, it is a work which, at the time of its execution, must have reflected great credit on the limner, and been no slight ornament to the interior of the sacred edifice.

As stated at the commencement, Mr. Massie was the founder of the Chester Archæological Society. It is now just eight years ago that, owing mainly to his exertions, a small but influential party of gentlemen assembled at St. Mary's Rectory, to establish "an Association for the improvement of architectural taste, the illustration and preservation of the remains of



MURAL PAINTING FOUND UNDER THE PLASTER IN SAINT MARY'S CHURCH, **CHESTER.**

antiquity in the city, county, and neighbourhood,—the recommending of plans for the restoration and improvement of buildings and other works,—the collecting of historic, archæological, and architectural information, documents, relics, and books—and the mutual suggestion and interchange of knowledge on these important subjects."

In less than a year from its commencement, more than 120 members had been enrolled, numerous papers on antiquarian subjects read at the monthly meetings of the Society, and the first Part of its printed *Journal* sent to the press. To describe the progress of the Society from struggling infancy to staid maturity, is but to tell of great efforts put forth, daily sacrifices made, and difficulties encountered only to be overcome, by our venerated friend. Those only who know what a task it really is to hold together such a Society, to provide the necessary matter for its monthly meetings, and to keep alive the sympathies of often lukewarm friends, can fully appreciate either the extent or value of Mr. Massie's services. In very truth he was the mainspring, the life and soul of the Society. Out of 32 papers read, or lectures delivered to the members up to the period of his decease, more than one-third were the production of our Ecclesiastical Secretary alone! What better evidence could we have of his energy, ability, and good-will than this?

Of the many lectures he delivered before the Society, not the least interesting was that upon the "History of Seals," so aptly illustrated as it was by local examples of his own collecting. This article, when printed in the Society's Transactions, created no small interest in the antiquarian world: applications came in from all parts of the kingdom, and from many Societies abroad, asking leave to purchase that portion of the *Journal*. Leading men of the Society of Antiquaries importuned the author to permit himself to be nominated an F.S.A., but with his usual modesty and disregard of fame, he withstood their tempting wiles.

Another paper of his upon the "Mural Paintings in Gawsworth Church, Cheshire," read originally before the Chester Society, was published in a distinct form, illustrated with coloured facsimiles of the paintings, and sold for the benefit of the Gawsworth Church Restoration Fund. But perhaps his most interesting and valuable contribution to the Society was that eminently practical lecture on the "History of St. Mary's Parish, Chester,"—the first portion of which was delivered only about a week prior to his final illness. Save and except a very slight abstract, that splendid dissertation on "St. Mary's under the Romans" is, we lament to say, entirely lost to the city. It was admitted by all who heard it to be the best archæological lecture he ever delivered. Alas! how little did any of us suppose, as we dwelt on the lessons which then fell from his lips, and joyously laughed at those sallies of wit interspersed so cleverly through his remarks, that in less than two months we should be called upon to mourn his premature

decease, and in some cases to follow his remains to the grave! But we are slightly anticipating the thread of our narrative.

We have noticed Mr. Massie's zeal for the House of God, and his anxious desire to see everything therein "done decently and in order." Had we time, we might enlarge on his numerous additions to the strength and beauty of his ancient parish sanctuary,—how he restored the chancel, repaired and adorned the richly-toned organ, brought out from beyond their accumulated plaster the original oaken roofs,—and how, last not least, he decorated many of the church windows with appropriate designs in stained glass. His last effort in this direction, and one which was not quite accomplished at the period of his death, was the fine east window of the north aisle. England and her allies were engaged in a righteous war against Russia,—the battles of Alma and Inkermann had been fought,—and the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusileers had led the van on both those memorable days. The great proportion of those who fought and fell belonging to that regiment were men who, but a few months before, had attended Divine worship in St. Mary's Church. The Rector, who also officiated as Chaplain of the Garrison, naturally looked upon the "gallant 23rd" as his own peculiar people; and no sooner was it known in Chester that the men of the regiment had suffered so nobly in their country's cause, than he organised a subscription for erecting an obituary window to their memory. A large sum was immediately raised; and the result was that a design was selected of rare beauty, and most appropriate character. It was finished by the artist just before the Rector's death, but was not put up until after his spirit had rested from its labours.

As an instance of his regard for the "little things of the temple," we may refer to the old oak cover of the baptismal font. This was discovered several years ago, (we believe during the incumbency of the Rev. Rowland Hill,) buried under one of the pews in the vicinity of the font. Considered of no service, and perhaps too hard to be chopped up for fuel, it was consigned to a lumber-room in the Rectory-house. Here, in 1854, Mr. Massie fell in with it, and fancying he could distinguish, on its lower surface, some faint indications of a painting, he drew it from its hiding-place, and caused it to be carefully washed and varnished. In this instance, as usual, success attended him. The subject sought to be conveyed by the painter, who it is clear did not wield the pencil of a Rubens, was the first of the two only Sacraments of the Church,—the rite of Holy Baptism. Although, on the score of art, the discovery was not a very important one, the picture is not without interest to the student of ancient costume. The clergyman in the centre, with beard, moustache, and periwig, presents a striking contrast to the ecclesiastic of our day; while the hoods and tippets of the fair gossips in the picture stand out just as oddly beside the flowing wigs and high fronted shoes of their male companions. The font is of large proportions

FROM AN OIL-PAINTING ON AN OLD

FONT-COVER

LATELY RESTORED AT



S^T^ MARY'S CHURCH,

CHESTER, 1854.

H.J. Bellars lith.

but of a type calculated to raise a smile on the face of modern ecclesiologists. The date of the painting may reasonably be assigned to the latter part of the 17th, or beginning of the 18th century.

But all the while that these improvements were going on at St. Mary's, Mr. Massie was engaged on a greater and far more laborious work. Emboldened by the success he had met with at Byley, he addressed himself now to the task of erecting *two* entirely new Churches,—one at Saltney, and the other at Upton,—outlying districts at the northern and southern extremities of his widely-scattered parish. This was, in truth, an arduous undertaking! But our friend was blessed with a good stout heart, and rare stedfastness of purpose; having made up his mind, therefore, to carry out the work, he rested not, night or day, until it was completed. Mr. James Harrison, of Chester, one of the Secretaries of our Society, furnished the designs for both Churches; and Mr. Massie has often, in our hearing, acknowledged the zeal and ability with which his architect carried out his wishes and instructions. Upton Church was the first finished, and that was consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Chester on Wednesday, the 31st of May, 1854. The subscriptions for Saltney came in more slowly; but the first portion of that Church also was opened in due form on Tuesday, January 9th, 1855.

During the progress of the works scarce a day elapsed without Mr. Massie being personally on the spot, both at Upton and Saltney. We have ourselves often met him, at a very early hour before breakfast, on the Liverpool road, and even then he would be returning from his tour of inspection. With the activity and energy he ever displayed, one can, after all, scarcely wonder at his marvellous success! To secure an adequate endowment for these Churches, Mr. Massie readily sacrificed a large portion of his income; and though Upton still continues a chapel of ease to St. Mary's, Saltney and the adjoining township of Marlston-cum-Lache have been severed from that parish, and been formed into a separate and independent district.

This is not the place to discuss, without delicate reserve, the religious principles of our departed friend. Suffice it to say, that he was a Churchman in the best and truest sense of the word. Though "his trumpet blew no uncertain sound," he belonged not to the Germanising school upon the one hand, nor favoured the Romanising clique on the other. His was the true *via media*,—the churchmanship founded on Christ and His Apostles,—the churchmanship practised by Sutton, Herbert, and good old Jeremy Taylor; the doctrines he taught were the doctrines espoused by his own county man Wilson, the apostolic Bishop of Sodor and Man! More than this we cannot say,—to declare anything short of this would be sorely wronging his fondly cherished memory!

He was the author of a treatise on the "Parochial Visitation of the

Poor," forming one of the series of Parker's Parochial Tracts; also of a few single Sermons on the Gunpowder Plot and other subjects.

It is now the middle of November, 1855. The path of duty leads Mr. Massie to his Upton district. On his way homewards, he was overtaken by a heavy shower of rain, which by the time he reached the Rectory had wet him completely through to the skin. A poor man, one of his parishioners, was awaiting his return, and begged of him to go and visit his wife, who was dangerously ill. He went, and with his usual forgetfulness of self, remained at the sick bed some considerable time. He then returned home, and changed his apparel; but it was now too late, the mischief had been done, the plague was upon him, and he never more quitted the Rectory-house alive. During the whole of his long and painful illness, he was the object of universal sympathy,—day after day hundreds of his fellow-citizens, of all classes, called at the Rectory to enquire the state of their beloved friend's health. None were more attentive in this respect than our amiable Bishop, and the then resident members of the noble House of Eaton. Still he grew gradually weaker and weaker, until near midnight on Saturday, January 5th, 1856, when his soul passed peacefully, happily away to another, a brighter, and a better world. "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; even so, saith the spirit, for they rest from their labours!"

For much of what follows we are indebted to the columns of the *Chester Courant*:—

The mortal remains of the late respected Rector of St. Mary's were interred on Friday morning, January 11th, at the Chester Cemetery. It was the wish of our departed friend that his funeral should be as private and as simple as possible; but, although no arrangements for a public ceremonial were announced, the spontaneous desire and determination of all classes to honour his memory could not be restrained, and the result was a demonstration of sorrow and respect which will never be forgotten. Before taking holy orders (as already stated in the present memoir,) Mr. W. H. Massie had been an officer in the army, and having, in his capacity of chaplain to the Chester garrison, won the esteem and affection of the soldiers, by his kind attention to their interests, and his nightly superintendence of their schools, the officers in command, on behalf of the men, asked and obtained permission for the attendance of the military on the occasion. Accordingly, at ten o'clock, the street leading from the Rectory to the Grosvenor-road was lined on each side by the soldiers, and the band of the First Royal Cheshire Militia, with drums muffled and covered with black cloth, took their station in front of the court-yard. Thence, to the solemn music of "The Dead March," and a funeral peal from the muffled bells of St. Mary's Church, the mournful procession, composed of clergy, magistrates, citizens, and soldiery, moved on towards the Cemetery.

It proceeded along Grosvenor-road, which was densely crowded by an immense concourse, who were visibly affected by sorrow; and not a sound was heard amidst that assembled throng but the wailing strains of the military music, the measured tread of the soldiery, and the bursting sobs of grief that struggled from the hearts of hundreds, whose emotions could only find relief in tears. On arriving at the gates of the Cemetery, the band halted, and between the lines of spectators formed by the citizens and soldiers who had joined in the procession, the corpse was carried on a bier into the chapel, preceded by the Rev. J. F. Hewson, the chaplain, senior curate to the deceased, reading the sublime sentences with which the office for the burial of the dead opens; and followed by the mourners, clergy, and military officers. The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, who from recent illness was unable to walk from the Rectory, joined the procession at the Cemetery, and, by the side of the Lord Bishop, followed his friend's remains to the grave. Several ladies who were personal friends and fellow-labourers with the late Rector in the good works of his parish, were also in the chapel; and the grounds of the Cemetery were crowded with persons of all ranks and ages, anxious to pay a last tribute of respect to the faithful pastor they had so dearly loved. The appointed Psalm and Lesson having been read by the chaplain, the body was carried to its resting-place,—an unpretending grave on the level ground at the foot of the pathway from the chapel; there, amidst symptoms of sincere mourning from attending thousands, it was committed to the earth "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." The service was impressively read by Mr. Hewson, the solemn silence being alone broken by the prayers of the chaplain, the smothered sighs of manly sorrow, the sobs of affliction from softer hearts, the weeping of the little ones of his bereaved flock, and the warbling of a bird, which perched on a tree over the grave, and then took its upward flight towards heaven's gates, as denoting the glorious home whither the mourners should, in heart and mind, ascend for the Divine consolation that cheered and illumined the dying days of their departed minister and friend. The coffin was covered with black cloth; a plain plate simply bearing the inscription of the name, the date of the death, and the age of the deceased, who, after 48 years of life spent in one consistent course of duty, piety, and benevolence, has entered into his rest. Many of the by-standers crowded round the grave, at the close of the service, to take a last fond look of the spot where the body sleeps till the morning of the resurrection; the mourning crowds then departed to their homes.

On the following Sunday morning, St. Mary's church was attended by a numerous congregation, most of whom wore mourning dress: the pulpit and reading desk being draped with black cloth in token of respect for the late Rector's memory. The Rev. Henry Ireland Blackburne, M.A., Vicar

of Rostherne, lately Curate of St. Mary's, officiated, and preached an admirably appropriate and impressive sermon from Psalm xxiii. 4—"Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me." In a lucid and earnest style of scriptural exposition and practical application, the discourse ably illustrated the joy and happiness which true religion affords to all who are experimentally acquainted with its power and efficacy; and in delineating the peaceful hope with which the faithful Christian is sustained in the last struggles of mortality, the preacher proceeded to observe:—

"Nor let any one suppose that this an imaginary picture of the 'joy and and peace in believing' which the faithful Christian feels, even when he knows the hand of death is upon him. Far otherwise; it is a picture drawn from the life—one which it is the pastor's privilege sometimes to behold in his ministrations by the bedside of the sick and dying. And the consolations I have alluded to were enjoyed in all their fulness in the last hours of your departed pastor. The text I have been considering was one which he delighted in having read to him continually as he lay upon his bed of sickness; and so fully did he realise in his own person the comfort contained in the Psalmist's words, that he has desired that they may be engraven on his tomb. I well know, dear friends, the anxiety, the alternate fluctuations of hope and fear that have existed within you, while he languished on his bed of sickness. I can well imagine with what earnestness and devotion your prayers, both in public and in private, have ascended to heaven in his behalf—that if possible he might be spared to his parish: and I well know that his death has caused deep and heartfelt sorrow to all those with whom he was in any way connected. And how could it be otherwise? A faithful shepherd has been taken from his flock; one, who in simplicity, truthfulness, and godly sincerity, preached to you the Gospel of peace; one to whom the welfare of each individual parishioner was as dear as his own life; one whose strength, whose time, whose talents were devoted to the cause of truth, and to the spiritual welfare of those committed to his charge; one, who in season and out of season, did not fail to warn the ungodly, to encourage the good, to cheer the desponding, to visit the sick, and to console the dying. When noisome pestilence stalked through his parish, and decimated his people, he was to be seen everywhere, fearless of infection, unmindful of himself; not only enlightening the soul with the consolations of religion, and mitigating the wants of the body, but sometimes, when panic had driven others from the bed of death, performing with his own hands the last sad offices for the departed. When heresy and false doctrine made their appearance, and false teachers endeavoured to undermine the true faith as it is in Jesus, faithfully and openly did he meet the adversary, and with firmness, tempered by charity, confute his errors, and warn his people against his deceitful arguments. While he could feel for the sorrows of his people, he could also, with unaffected sincerity, sympathise with their joys. In short, wherever, and under whatever circumstances the presence of Christ's minister was needed, there was he to be found, as well in the mansion of the rich as in the cottage of the poor. And such was his influence for good, such the force of his bright

example, such the effect of his simple but earnest teaching, such the pleasure which his presence caused, that of him it may without exaggeration be said—'When the ear heard him, then it blessed him, and when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him.' The old rejoiced as he sat in their houses and bid them prepare for eternity; and the little ones listened with interest, and smiled with pleasure as he told them of Jesus, the children's friend, and bid them pray to Him and love Him. No wonder, then, that his loss is so deeply felt. But is it not a source of the greatest consolation to reflect, that religion was to him so great a comfort, so firm a foundation of hope, that even when about to leave the world, he could feel and say—'Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me.' 'His body is buried in peace, but his soul liveth evermore.'"

The sermon was delivered with devout earnestness and pathos, and produced a deep impression, which was visibly manifested throughout the congregation.

During the afternoon service, the Rev. J. F. Hewson, Assistant Curate of St. Mary's, preached with special allusion to the Rector's death, from John xvii. 24. The church, as in the morning, was thronged by a congregation who sincerely sympathized with the statements of the preacher.

At Upton Church, which was also crowded by worshippers desirous of testifying their tribute of respect and grief on the melancholy occasion, the Rev. J. F. Hewson officiated in the morning, and the Rev. H. I. Blackburne in the afternoon.

On Sunday evening, St. Mary's Church was crowded to excess; as soon as the doors were opened nearly every available corner was occupied; every seat was full; hundreds stood in the aisles; and the churchyard was thronged by hundreds more who were unable to gain admittance, but who still seemed unwilling to leave the building, as if desirous of joining, though to their own personal discomfort, in this manifestation of public feeling. The Evening Service is usually choral; but on this mournful occasion there were no chaunts; and the Rev. J. F. Hewson officiated at the reading desk. The choristers and lay clerks of the Cathedral, however, kindly attended, and sang with excellent effect the beautiful anthem "When the ear heard him, then it blessed him," from the Book of Job xxix., the organ accompaniments being played with his usual taste and skill by Mr. Gunton. The Sermon was preached by the Lord Bishop of Chester. The Right Rev. Prelate selected for his text the 14th chapter of the Revelation, and part of the 13th verse, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." He said:—

"There is always a solemnity in this peaceful hour of the Sabbath evening, when we meet together in the House of God to close the day with prayer and praise. But on this occasion the solemnity is deepened by the feeling of a still recent sorrow for the good and faithful minister of this Church, whose voice has been so often heard within its walls in tones of gentle affection, and in words of soberness and truth. It is a sorrow that

has touched all hearts—the hearts of all who knew him either in the common intercourse of social life, or in the ministration of his sacred office, or in the still wider ministration of his charity, or in the intimacy of private friendship, or in the still closer and dearer relations of kindred and of home. It is a deep and lasting sorrow; but a sorrow mitigated by every remembrance of the past life; cheered and brightened by every comfort and confidence of Christian hope. When I say that the sorrow is universal, I need not refer to the spontaneous demonstration of respect and regret, from all classes of the people, on the day of his funeral. It had been his own expressed wish—a wish in unison with the simplicity of his life and the modesty of his character—that his funeral should be a private one, but with this wish it was impossible strictly to comply. Many, very many, would have felt disappointment if they had not been present on the mournful occasion, to pay the last sad tribute of sorrow,—the friends who had been attached to him in private life, the members of his congregation, his brethren of the Clergy, the officers of the military force stationed here, and not the officers only, but, I may say, the private soldiers also, for, as their Chaplain, he had won their respect and good-will;—and, besides these, numbers of all classes, and especially of the poor, to whom his ear, his heart, his hand had been always open. They who witnessed the last sad ceremony will not soon forget its impressive circumstances;—the long procession, the solemn music of the military band, the large assemblage within the Cemetery, the soldiers in rank lining the pathway, the little children of his schools, the still and silent circle of spectators, the sun shining through the cold wintry air upon the lowly grave, the words of the Funeral Service, so touching to human sympathy, so cheering to Christian hope, coming with such tenderness of emotion from the lips of a fellow-minister, and awakening a responsive echo in the hearts of all. It was a tribute of respect honourable to the memory of the departed—honourable to the feelings of those assembled there to testify their sorrow. It is a tribute often paid, and justly paid, to the great and honourable when they die;—justly paid, for fitting honour is due to their exalted rank even in death, where human grandeur ends. Still more justly is such tribute paid when the great and noble have adorned their rank by the lustre of their personal character, and earned the gratitude of their country either by their public services or by their private beneficence and example. But there is something that comes home to every heart, when such a tribute of respect is paid to the memory of one who moved in a less elevated, less conspicuous, but, it may be, not less useful, not less happy sphere, as a minister of the Gospel of Peace, a servant and follower of the meek and lowly Jesus. Fitly was such tribute paid to our departed friend. In all the branches of pastoral duty he had been faithful, zealous, and exemplary,—a good shepherd, who knew his flock, and whose flock his voice well knew. His parishioners will recollect how great his desire and care was to preserve and adorn the fabric of his church, both in its outer structure and its interior arrangements—not by the introduction of any excess of fanciful decoration or superfluous embellishment, but by such suitable reparations and improvements as reverence for its sacred use required. They will recollect with what solemnity, what impressiveness, the beautiful Liturgy of our Church was always read,—not as if it were a mere prelude to the sermon, but as a homage of divine worship, an offering of prayer and praise, of repentant sorrow, of suppliant faith, of fervent gratitude, of reviving hope, to the

Throne of Grace and Mercy. And, that no part of the service and order of the Church might be incomplete, they will remember also with what impressiveness in every sermon he addressed to them the words of instruction and exhortation—with what simplicity, what earnestness, what tenderness, what sympathy,—not with fiery declamation, not with a laboured display of rhetoric, not with the spirit of the controversialist,—he strove to lead his people in humility and faith, through the grace of God's Holy Spirit, to the foot of the Cross, to the knowledge and love of the Saviour whom he himself loved. There he taught them to look for pardon, and for peace. On this foundation he taught them, and on this alone, to rest all hope; and he taught them, also, that this principle of Christian faith, if genuine and sincere, would, through God's grace, transform their minds, redeem their whole character, and enter into all the relations and business of life—restraining the hands from violence, dishonesty, and fraud; the breast from angry contentions and hatred; the tongue from falsehood and deceit, and the vile whispers of calumny; bringing all under subjection to the will of God, and keeping us "unspotted from the world." He was the minister of his people, not only in the church and on Sunday, but out of the church and every day. How often have we all seen him traversing his parish, going from house to house, wherever there was want, or sickness, or sorrow, carrying charitable relief and spirital consolation, gladdening with the cheerful smile of his own bright countenance, or soothing with the gentle tones of his kind voice the lonely and neglected dwellings of the poor. "When the ear heard him then it blessed him, and when the eye saw him it gave witness to him—because he was the friend of 'the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and of him who had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing with joy." A humble follower of his Heavenly Master, he "went about doing good." The wide extent of his parish imposed a great weight of labour upon him in this respect, but to him it was a labour of love. There was, however, one disadvantage arising out of the great extent of his parish, which long occupied his anxious thoughts. He felt—painfully felt—that there were parts of his parish too far distant to admit of the regular attendance of the people who resided there at divine service in this the mother church. He felt, moreover, that, even if they had been able to come that distance, there was not accommodation in the mother church sufficient to receive them. With his characteristic energy and resolution, he set manfully about providing a remedy for this evil by the erection of two new churches,—one at Upton, where there is a scattered rural population; the other at Saltney, on the other side of the parish, where there has suddenly sprung up a thriving and industrious colony of artizans and mechanics. Aided in the latter of these objects by the kind and benevolent co-operation of the Rector of Hawarden,—aided in both by the kind liberality of many friends, some of whom I see present here, and no doubt there are many present here,—aided especially by the noble munificence of the noble patron of this living,—and making, on his own part, for the object great and willing sacrifices both of money and of time, he had at length, after great patience and perseverance, the great satisfaction of seeing both these churches completed and consecrated to the service of Almighty God. Whatever memorial the affection of his friends may raise to his name, these two churches will ever remain enduring monuments to generations yet unborn of his piety, his zeal, and his self-denial. There

are some of you who are aware of the constant personal attention and superintendence which he gave to the progress of the works while those churches were in the course of erection. I may, perhaps, be allowed to mention a little circumstance, possibly less generally known, but equally illustrative of his desire to economize the expenditure, and turn the contributions of the subscribers to the best account. The first intention was to make the sittings at Upton Church of deal, and an estimate of the expense had been procured. It happened that, at the time, he heard of a sale of oak wood; and, promptly seizing the opportunity, he purchased it on advantageous terms. He had the wood made into sittings for the Church, under his own inspection and superintendence, in the yard of his own Rectory-house; and the satisfactory result was, that the sittings were put up in oak for a sum less than the original estimate for the deal. I mention this as an illustration of the promptitude of his mind, the energy of his character, and the versatility of his talents, and still more to show that he was not, as some people are, content with sketching the more showy outlines of some extensive plan, and then leaving to others the trouble and responsibility of the execution; but that he entered into all the minutest details and kept a watchful eye over the whole progress of the undertaking, the whole management of the work, and the whole expenditure of the money. After he had succeeded in building these two churches, he indulged, I believe, in the hope—it may have been but a faint and incipient hope, but yet a hope—of accomplishing the erection of another for the population of Handbridge. He intimated this to his friend and curate some little time before his last illness, and even hinted at personal sacrifices which, in a spirit of self-denial, he was prepared to make in order to carry out the object. Now whether it would be practicable to raise sufficient money, at present at least, for the erection of a third church, and, not only for the erection of the church, but for the maintenance of a minister in it; that, let me say, is a weighty and serious question which will now be left for others to consider. I am not expressing an opinion on the point, whatever my wish may be. What I desire is, that the praise of good intention in this further object should follow the memory of the faithful servant of Christ whose loss we all so justly mourn. If the churches of his parish were his care, so were his schools, both within and beyond his parish. Many of you connected with this parish know the efficient state in which they have been maintained. They are models of good order and good management. He exercised a constant superintendence over them; his eye was always upon them. He attached great importance to them, regarding them as nurseries of the Church, trusting that the principles of piety implanted in the early season of youth would, by the blessing of God, prevail through all the progressive stages of after life, and that children when they grew up would still continue to be members of the Church, and good patterns to the generation next after them. I have sometimes seen him in his school, and have been pleased at witnessing the gentle playfulness of manner which he used to mix with the sterner tone of authority; I have seen him unbend himself among the little circle, and win the hearts and affections while he was training their understandings and their minds, thus setting an example of what teaching should always be, whether in the parish school or under the parental roof. The same activity of mind, the same energy of character, extended itself over all his pursuits and occupations, however varied they might be. Whether he was engaged, as he very often was, in labouring to

promote the interests of the great religious societies connected with our Church, or in fostering our own local society for the encouragement of antiquarian research, or in those leisure hours which he allowed himself from severer cares for social intercourse and private friendship, nothing ever ruffled the serenity of his temper, or clouded the openness of his cheerful countenance. He made himself many friends; he had not, he could not have, a single enemy. With the Curates by whom he was assisted in his works of labour and love he was always on terms of unreserved confidence and cordial harmony, and he always gave to them, and spoke of them, with the kindness of a friend and brother. His heart was in his duty; his life may be said to have been sacrificed to it. Many times I have entreated him to spare himself, and husband his strength, if it were only in the hope that he might, by God's blessing, economise his own usefulness, and so, it might be, extend his services over a larger period, with more substantial and effective results. But he generally turned aside the friendly remonstrance with a smile, expressive alike of settled purpose and hopeful trust. An officer bearing a high command in the regiment stationed here, and who generously appreciated his worth, told me the other day that, in answer to some friendly counsel of the same kind that he had given to our departed friend, he replied, 'My notion of duty is the notion which a soldier has,—that it is better to die in doing your duty, than to leave any part of it undone.' A noble sentiment, noble in a soldier on the field of battle in warfare against the enemies of his country; noble in a soldier of the Great Captain of our Salvation, in the spiritual warfare against the enemy of souls and the strongholds of sin. May the principle ever actuate the Christian minister. But, as regards the application of it, let me reverently add, that to over-tax and overstrain the powers of body and mind may, humanly speaking, have the sad effect of shortening a career of usefulness,—a caution, alas! which too few require. Our departed friend, however, slacked not his course. He had been performing, before he last returned to his own house, an act of ministerial duty. In the early part of the day before his last illness commenced he had been in unusually buoyant spirits, and he went on some mission of Christian kindness to the outlying hamlet of Upton. Either on his way or return, he got wet through by a heavy shower of rain. One of his parishioners, whose wife was lying dangerously ill, saw him, and begged him to visit her. Unwilling to deny the request,—unwilling to decline any call of duty,—he went, and remained for a considerable time, offering such consolation as the sad circumstances required. He then, and not till then, returned home and changed his dress, but soon felt the chill symptoms which indicate the approach of fever; and on the next day he was confined to his room, never to leave it again. During his long and anxious illness he suffered much; but he was calmly resigned to whatever might be the will of God, and he had many comforts. His attached sister watched by his side, with all the gentle tenderness and solicitude that an affection so pure and sacred can inspire. His medical attendants felt for him as one of their dearest friends. His domestics served him with the service of the heart. When I have made enquiry at the door, his servant never answered but with eyes filled with tears. Such tokens of fidelity and attachment must have been soothing to his mind. But he had still higher consolations than human affection can supply. The love of Christ possessed his soul, and in his last hours it shed a light of heavenly peace over his pale, placid

countenance. It seemed to those who watched by his bed-side as if he was permitted to experience a confidence and foretaste of approaching bliss. Once, when he awoke from a transient sleep, he said that he thought he had heard sweet music, and the voices of the heavenly choir. I would not speak of this presumptuously, but reverently and humbly. Whether it was a ray of comfort from above, or a reflection of the light of Christian hope within the recesses of his own heart, it proves where his heart, where his treasure was; it gives us, who are left to mourn his loss, a confidence that he is now where he will for ever hear the voices of the blessed, as they circle the Almighty's throne with hymns of triumph and songs of joy. There may we all meet him, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The sermon was delivered with that chaste and impressive elocution which characterises the addresses of the good Bishop, whose voice and manner emphatically indicated the feelings of his own heart, and whose discourse excited the deepest emotions among the crowded congregation. His Lordship closed the service with an appropriate prayer from the Order for the Burial of the Dead and the Apostolic Benediction.

Thus, in the full course of active usefulness, has fallen our departed friend, whose frequent exclamation, in answer to remonstrances against over-exertion, was "Better to wear out than rust out." Thus has he passed to his rest, lamented and honoured by all around.

A raised cruciform slab, emblematical of the faith in which he lived and died, has been placed in the Chester Cemetery, to mark the spot where the "man of God" lies. The inscription, which occupies both sides of the stone, runs as follows:—

HERE LIES THE BODY OF

WILLIAM HENRY MASSIE,

FOR THIRTEEN YEARS INCUMBENT OF GOOSTREY, IN THE COUNTY OF CHESTER,
AND EIGHT YEARS RECTOR OF ST. MARY'S, IN THIS CITY,
WHERE HE DIED JANUARY 5, 1856, AGED 49.
HE WAS A MAN GREATLY BELOVED.

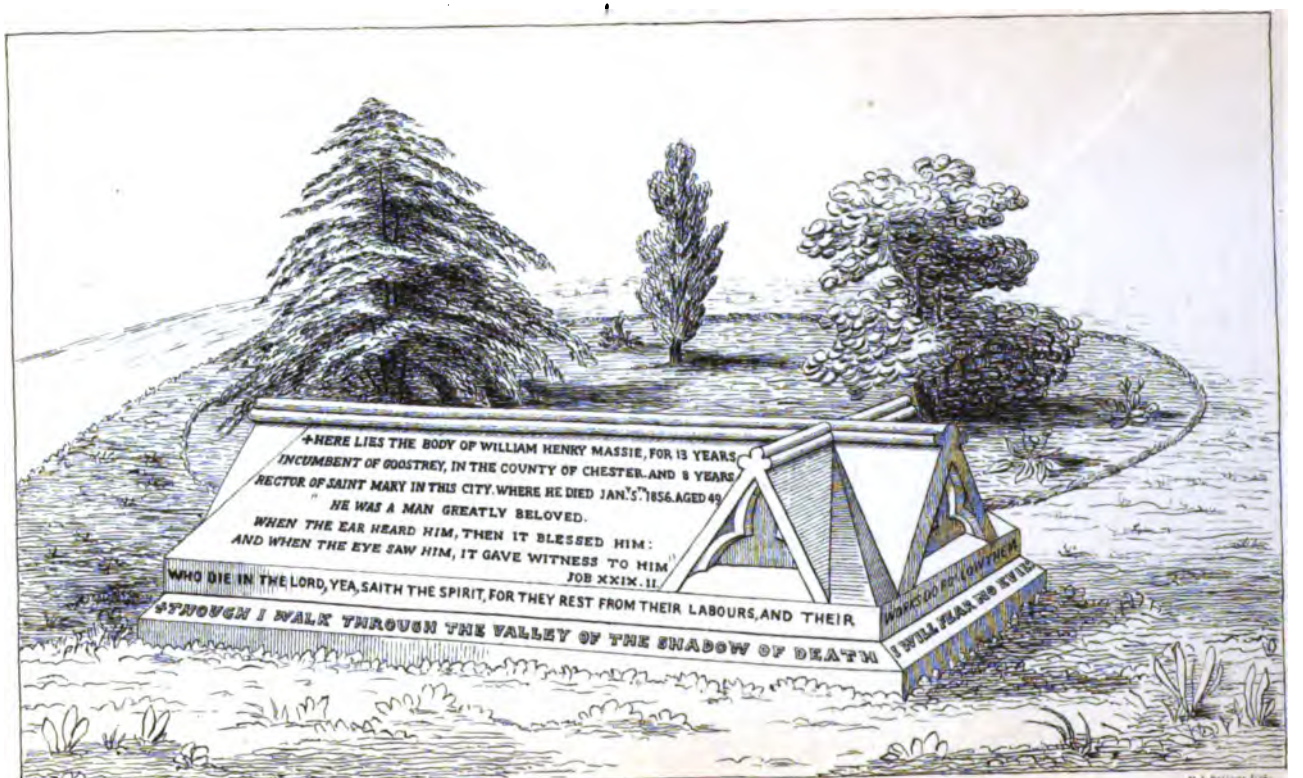
"WHEN THE EAR HEARD HIM, THEN IT BLESSED HIM, AND WHEN THE EYE SAW HIM, IT GAVE WITNESS TO HIM."—JOB xxix. 11.

"In early life he was a soldier, and spent four years in the East India Company's Service in Bengal, where he gave clear indications of the energy and ability which afterwards distinguished him in a higher service. Like the Good Centurion, who loved God's people, and built them a Synagogue, he has left a lasting monument of his zeal for God's house, and deep concern for the spiritual welfare of his flock in the Churches recently built, through his exertions, at Byley, Upton, and Saltney.

"Soldier of God, thy course was nobly run,
The fight well fought, the battle nobly won;
Useful and happy was thy brief campaign;
To thee 'to live was Christ, to die was gain.'"

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, yea, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

"Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thy rod, and Thy staff, they comfort me."—Psalm xxiii. 4."



From a sketch by T. Bailey

THE REV: W.H. MASSIE'S GRAVE

IN CHESTER CEMETERY.

It was not to be expected that one so good and so beloved should depart hence without leaving in the hearts of friends a desire to do permanent honour to his memory. Accordingly, on Monday, January 21st, 1856, an influential meeting was held in St. Mary's parochial schoolroom, Charles William Potts, Esq., the senior Churchwarden, in the chair. It was then and there determined that a subscription should be entered into for the purpose of enriching the fine East window of the chancel of St. Mary's Church with an appropriate subject in stained glass; and that obituary memorials should also be placed in the newly-erected Churches of Saltney and Upton. A large sum of money was immediately raised, and, after some consideration, the Committee selected a handsome design by Mr. Wailes, of Newcastle, representing "Christ sending forth His Disciples to preach the Gospel to every nation." The subject is treated in a beautifully chaste and artistic manner, and will retain a lasting interest as the appropriate record of the willing homage of an affectionate people to the memory of a pious, active, and faithful minister.

THE REV. CHANCELLOR RAIKES,

HISTORIAN TO THE SOCIETY.

A GREAT and gifted spirit has passed away from among us. Few men of our age not prominent in public life, or filling offices of great dignity and responsibility, have been so much identified with public interests, or so widely known and esteemed as our late Reverend Chancellor. We think it will not be unwelcome, therefore, to a large portion of our readers to furnish from the most authentic sources some particulars from the life of one, whose latter years were passed among us, but whose earlier course is necessarily less known in this immediate neighbourhood. It will be interesting to those to whom the erect and active figure, and venerable and attenuated face of the Chancellor, were as familiar in their streets, as those of the "Iron Duke" were for many years to the lounger of the West End, to learn a few particulars of those earlier years that were passed in very different scenes, and with far other associates.

Mr. Raikes was born 24th September, 1782, at his father's house, in Broad-street, in the city of London. He was the second son of wealthy parents, his father being one of the merchant princes of the day, Governor of the Bank of England, and a personal friend and supporter of Mr. Pitt. He had married into a branch of the Winchelsea family, and was himself a younger brother of Mr. Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, the well-known founder of Sunday Schools.

To return, however, to our immediate subject,—he was sent at an early age, in 1790, to a school at Neasdon, in the neighbourhood of London, where he imbibed the rudiments of learning under a relative of the highest academic distinction and refinement of taste, but who, in the treatment and teaching of youth, had retained from an earlier school a degree of severity and harshness not usual even in his own day, and now happily a matter of history. From this seminary Henry Raikes proceeded to Eton in 1793, and continued there till 1800, when his talents, peculiarly suited for the elegant classics cultivated at that celebrated school, had placed him



REV. CHANCELLOR RAIKES.

at the top of it. Here, among many other agreeable and distinguished associates, he formed a boyish friendship with Dr. Sumner, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, that was destined to last the period of their joint lives, and to be a source of mutual comfort and support in the subsequent trials and responsibilities to which they were destined.

In October, 1800, Mr. Raikes proceeded to St. John's, Cambridge, where he took his degree in January, 1804. There he enlarged his distinguished Eton acquaintance by the addition of many names since of note in the Church and State. We may mention the two Grants, Lord Glenelg and his brother, the venerable Marquis of Lansdowne, Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston, Mr. Goulburn, and the late Bishop of Norwich. It has been a matter of surprise to many who had watched the dawn of Mr. Raikes' talents at Eton, and admired the maturity of his powers in after life, that his Cambridge career was not more distinguished. For the exact sciences Mr. Raikes had, though a great respect, decidedly less taste and talent than for other acquirements. He, however, obtained the second-class honours of a Senior Optime in this branch. In classics, where his Eton learning might have been expected to have prepared him for success, he was more distinguished, both in his own College and the University. In the latter, however, he had powerful competitors, and in the contest for the medals he was beaten by Kaye, the late Bishop of Lincoln, and Monk, the late Bishop of Gloucester. He was classed after these worthies with Dobree, the learned author of "The Adversaria." The year after his degree, Mr. Raikes obtained the Latin Essay prize annually offered by the members for the University to Bachelors of Arts who have recently graduated.

But, in the year 1805, which followed that of his degree, the interest and adventure of foreign travel, at that time rendered doubly exciting by the troubled state of the continent and the rapid progress of French ascendancy, attracted Mr. Raikes to a tour rather excluding than embracing the places mostly visited by modern tourists. France, Belgium, the Rhine, Switzerland, Spain, and Northern Italy were all alike closed to English tourists by the occupation or influence of Napoleon. Mr. Raikes, in order to reach the classic goal of his journey on the sunny shores of Greece, had to penetrate the Baltic, and accordingly landing in Prussia, he visited Berlin. He next proceeded into Austria, and in Hungary and the Tyrol he witnessed and zealously assisted in the loyal organization of those warlike provinces of the Austrian Empire, that were destined to the awful catastrophes of Austerlitz and Ulm. For employment of this kind Mr. Raikes was singularly fitted by his high courage, great bodily strength, and talent for acquiring the most difficult European languages.

In Italy, endeared to the educated traveller by so many associations, every spot was closed to the English tourist but Venice, the child of the sea, that still served as a communication between England and her continental allies.

At Venice, Mr. Raikes accordingly embarked for Greece, and after having nearly suffered shipwreck in the Adriatic on the Dalmatian coast, he reached the Ionian Islands, and landed on the continent of Greece in the autumn of 1805. In Greece he met Lord Aberdeen, and the winter was delightfully spent in exploring the sites of ancient temples and cities in Bœotia, and in the interior of the Peloponesus,—Attica, whose very dust is history, was laboriously studied by the two young scholars of Cambridge, who brought to antiquarian pursuits all the zeal and energy of youth, with an amount of historical and topographical learning that has rarely been rivalled in students of riper years. Albania, too, a land almost of romance in the savage grandeur of its scenery, and the peculiar barbarism of its inhabitants, was visited some years before it had become familiar to English readers from the cantos of Childe Harold. In those days postal communications were neither rapid nor certain, and rendered less so by the varying events of the war; so that Mr. Raikes, after a winter in the mountains of Arcadia, met an accumulation of intelligence on his return to the sea coast at Patras that might have filled some years of the history of a less eventful period. Austerlitz and Trafalgar had both been fought, and while France had obtained unqualified ascendancy on land, her flag had been swept from the ocean; and while England was freed from fear of invasion, her allies were hopelessly prostrated on the continent. Mr. Raikes was induced by the state of the continent to return to England by sea. He was for some months the guest of Lord Collingwood in the *Unity*, and accompanied the Mediterranean squadron on its cruise on the coast of Sicily and Africa in the summer of 1806. He even landed at Algiers, and was accustomed to allude to illustrations of biblical manners and costume, suggested by what he saw of the Moorish tribes of the interior. But it was, perhaps, to the associations of this long voyage that we may attribute that interest in the life of a sailor, and earnest zeal in his spiritual improvement, that suggested many of Mr. Raikes' later efforts and publications.

On his return to England by Gibraltar and Lisbon, what with the good connections of his family, and his own very distinguished associations at Eton and Cambridge, there can be little doubt that a public career of no ordinary celebrity would have been opened to him, as it was certainly offered at this period; while his power and grace as a public speaker as singularly fitted him for Parliamentary life, as his knowledge of foreign languages, and experience and observation of foreign countries had prepared him for the Diplomatic service. But such was not to be his line, and his thoughts began now to centre on the Church. He was accordingly ordained in 1808 by Bishop Tomline to the curacy of Betchworth, in Surrey, close to the seat of his friend Mr. Goulburn.

In 1809, Mr. Raikes married Augusta, the eldest daughter of Mr. J.

Whittington, of Therberton and Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, a gentleman of some sporting celebrity, and who had been reduced from very great affluence by the result of a Chancery suit, that divested him of the estate, with which Downing College was founded in the University of Cambridge. After his marriage, Mr. Raikes appears holding different curacies in the neighbourhood of London; but in 1811 he took the curacy of Shillingstone, in Dorsetshire, and received great encouragement and stimulus in the ministry from the vicinity of an old Cambridge friend, the present Archdeacon Hoare, who was settled at Blandford. The peculiar physical distress that seems always to have characterized the peasantry of Dorset, and which has in later years excited the benevolent though eccentric pen of S. G. O., deeply struck Mr. Raikes, as contrasted with the state of the poor in other counties, and directed his mind to many of those schemes of parochial charity and providence, then little known, though now too common to be specified.

From Shillingstone Mr. Raikes removed, in 1814, to the curacy of Burnham, in Buckinghamshire, a scattered agricultural parish, singularly primitive for a place within 24 miles of Hyde Park Corner, and now traversed by the Great Western Railway. In this large and laborious sphere he found ample occupation. The education of the young, the circulation of the Scriptures, and a diligent care for souls, particularly engaged his attention.

It was towards the close of his Burnham curacy, in 1820, that it pleased God to take away the desire of his eyes with a stroke, as from the prophet Ezekiel of old. Grievous as the loss of a young wife and mother must be under any circumstances, nowhere can it fall heavier than in a country parsonage, where every joy is centred in home, and where the pastor's kind and gentle wife is associated with every parochial interest and domestic habit. Mr. Raikes was stunned and prostrated by a stroke that had taken from him the object of an early and romantic affection, and left him a young widower of scholar-like and refined tastes, with the care of a young family. But the Everlasting Arms were supporting him in his deep sorrow, though he knew it not. An admirable and exemplary sister came to take charge of his children, and never failed through future years to discharge her self-imposed task with a mother's care and love. His excellent friend, the present Primate, too, was at hand with the best and only consolation for such an affliction. He said, in a tone almost prophetic, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." And truly from the stupor and agony of this bereavement the sufferer arose another man, with renewed and purer motives, a higher and more concentrated aim in life.

About this time Mr. Raikes began to appear on the platform as a public speaker in the cause of the Bible Society, and of Church Missions to the

Heathen and the Jews, with unimpaired success. To the education of his children, too, Mr. Raikes bent the powers of his mind with an earnestness, not to say severity, that was eminently characteristic of him, though not equally appreciated by the objects of his solicitude. His removal from Burnham, in 1822, though approved by his friends on obvious grounds, was hastened by the death of his Incumbent, and the residence of the new Vicar. After an interval, spent principally at his elder brother's seat, Sudbrooke Park, Mr. Raikes purchased a residence and property on the coast of Sussex, where he resided from 1824 to 1832, when he settled in Chester. It is perhaps to be regretted that, at this important section of his life, being about the intellectual climax from 42 to 50, he was without regular professional employment. He indeed held the curacy of the sea bathing town of Bognor, in the immediate neighbourhood of his seat at Aldwick, for about two years, and an occasional engagement was presented from time to time in the great and important sphere of Brighton. But for the greater part of this period Mr. Raikes was left to pursue his studies or assist friends, with little more of regular employment than was offered by the education of his sons, or the ordinary obligations of property and influence. During Mr. Raikes' residence in Sussex, among lesser works and contributions to the religious periodicals of the day, he published a volume of sermons of a very original type on the attributes of God, indicating a profound insight into the mystery of the human heart, and of its relations to the Almighty.

In the course of 1828, Mr. Raikes made an excursion with his family to the continent. But with a mind ever tending to professional subjects and the interests of religion, he combined a visit to the romantic scenes of Switzerland and the Rhine with an attendance on the Assembly of the Vaudois Church, and a personal enquiry into the conduct of the German branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that had at that time been suspected of a deviation from the original principle of that great association.

Mr. Raikes' opinions on the public questions of the day, though strongly defined, and but little modified in the course of a long life, were of so varied and independent a character, as to little assimilate with the views of any leading party. A striking instance of this originality and independence of mind that distinguished our excellent Chancellor was that, though his divinity might have been termed ultra Protestant, he was a steady and moderate supporter of Catholic emancipation; and during this period always discouraged, as far as his influence extended, the agitation promoted by many good and zealous men against that great measure. It may be a matter of surprise, and worth noticing in this place, that a clergyman so fitted for advancement, and whose earlier associations had introduced him to the great depositories of patronage, should have never obtained preferment

in his profession before his appointment as Chancellor of this Diocese. But his independent circumstances, and interest in the education of his sons, perhaps rendered him fastidious in accepting preferment, as its acquisition was indifferent to him. It is, however, fair to his early and influential associates to state, that about this period the Bishoprick of Calcutta was offered to him, but declined.

But events were now in progress that led to the introduction of Mr. Raikes to this city and diocese. His early friend of school and college, his example in parochial usefulness, and comforter in his darkest hour of trial and bereavement, was appointed Bishop of Chester in 1828. Mr. Raikes was naturally appointed his examining chaplain; and on the Chancellorship of the Diocese becoming vacant, in 1830, he was nominated to that honourable and lucrative post.

Though for a private gentleman his wealth might be said to abound, yet his charity did much more abound. As a specimen of the scale of his liberality, we may instance that on a single day, when lying upon his deathbed at Dee Side, he gave away £450.

But it was as a preacher, public speaker on religious occasions, and an active and judicious philanthropist, that the late Chancellor was best known to this city and diocese. If we were permitted to specify any particular objects of the late Chancellor's attention, they would be our Infirmary and the cause of Church Building, so imperatively demanded by the increasing population and spiritual destitution of the manufacturing districts of the diocese. The Cemetery, the Blue School, the Refuge, in this city, and the Clergy Orphan Institutions at Casterton and Warrington engaged a scarcely inferior portion of his time and interest.

Among a host of sermons, charges, and lectures, some of great interest and originality, and all characterised by the same tone of lofty piety and universal benevolence, Mr. Raikes attempted one work on a larger scale in the perilous field of religious biography. This life of his old friend, Admiral Sir J. Brenton, a very gallant officer and devoted Christian, but not a man of high literary attainments, was severely handled in the *Quarterly*.

But a more extended and scarcely to be appreciated sphere of usefulness was occupied by the late Chancellor in his capacity of Examining Chaplain of this great diocese for eighteen years. During this period the number of the Clergy employed in the diocese had nearly doubled, and their influence probably increased in a far greater proportion. The venerable Simeon of Cambridge, who had himself laboured so long and successfully in stimulating the Clergy, and forming a higher and more scriptural tone of pulpit composition, expressed shortly before his death to the writer of this memoir his satisfaction that the great and populous diocese of Chester enjoyed a sort of double Episcopacy, in the cordial coadjutorship of the Chancellor with the Bishop of the See.

The elevation of his early friend and patron to the Primacy of the English Church was a circumstance most gratifying to Mr. Raikes, though accompanied with the personal loss of his society at Chester.

The Chancellor's relish for antiquarian pursuits is well known to us all. He was one of the first who responded to Mr. Massie's call for the formation of the Chester Archæological Society. He was one of the select few who, in the Rectory-house of St. Mary's, organised the plan for the establishment of the Society, as well as the necessary rules for its government. With the unanimous consent of the members, he was appointed to the office of Historian to the Society, and in that capacity delivered the Inaugural Address at the first Quarterly Meeting on April 1, 1850,—an address evincing a more than ordinary amount of local and general historic research. His Paper on St. John's Church, Chester, printed at large in this *Journal*, was a valuable contribution to the history of his adopted city: while his essay on the Romano-Greek Altar, discovered in Northgate Street, brought prominently out the extensive range of his classical attainments. Other papers of his, read before the Society, deserve honourable mention: such as, for instance, his admirable discourse on a Tomb he himself explored near the Ruins of Hyampolis; or, again, that upon the Inscriptions found on the venerable Rocks of Sinai. In fact, the Rev. Chancellor's services to this Society entitle him to the respect and gratitude of all whose privilege it was to be associated with him in the antiquarian field.

The varied powers of the Chancellor's mind, and the indefatigable industry with which they were employed, are attested, not only by his published works, original and interesting as they are, but by the copious papers existing in M.S., which only need a competent editor to throw light upon a wide range of Biblical and other subjects.

In spite of the fatigue of immense business correspondence and uninterrmitted study, combined with an almost ascetic self-denial in respect of food and rest, our venerable neighbour retained his powers of active exertion, and even some appearance of health, till the spring of 1854, when everything appeared to give way. The immediate cause of alarm indeed was removed, but other symptoms appeared. Two visits to London for medical advice were attended with no improvement, and, to the unspeakable sorrow of his family, who watched the rapid subsidence of a flame of intellectual and spiritual life that seemed too bright to die, one ordinary habit after another was given up, and the last fortnight was passed in bed, with a rapid decline of both bodily and mental power.

The last recorded prayer of this devoted servant of Christ was answered, that "as his day, was so his strength might be," in a peaceful and almost unconscious translation early on the morning of Tuesday, November 28, 1854.

The funeral of the late Chancellor was a public one, and was attended

by an immense concourse of friends and fellow-citizens, all anxious to pay him their last tribute of respect. As the mournful *cortège* passed through the principal streets, on its way from Dee Side to the Chester Public Cemetery, the tradesmen of the city manifested their regard for his memory by closing their respective establishments and joining in the procession.

Immediately after the funeral, a public subscription was organised, with the name of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury at its head, for the purpose of founding a Raikes Exhibition at the Diocesan Training College, at Chester, such being at the time considered the most appropriate way of perpetuating his memory, who had always been a nursing father to that Institution. This design, though carried out in strict accordance with the original plan, seemed not entirely to satisfy the great body of his admirers in the city and neighbourhood. Accordingly, after two years had elapsed since the death of their lamented friend, a second subscription was commenced, under influential auspices, with the specific object of erecting over his grave, in the Chester Cemetery, a visible memorial of their respect and esteem. This appeal met so ready and cordial a response from all classes of his fellow-citizens, that the committee were enabled at once to apply for a design for the monument from their talented architect, T. M. Penson, Esq. of Chester.

At the time of our going to press, the drawings submitted by Mr. Penson had not been finally agreed upon by the Committee; but, if it be any way possible, an engraving of the one selected shall accompany the present Memoir. The sum raised for this object is about £250; we are sure, therefore, that if the architect has only full scope afforded him, such a work will be produced as shall be alike a credit to Chester, and a fitting memorial of that "good and faithful servant" whom all the city "delighteth to honour."

A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society.

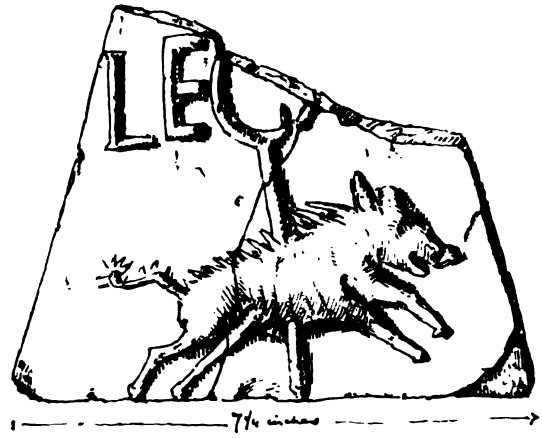
(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 358.)

FROM JANUARY, 1853, TO DECEMBER, 1855.

1853.

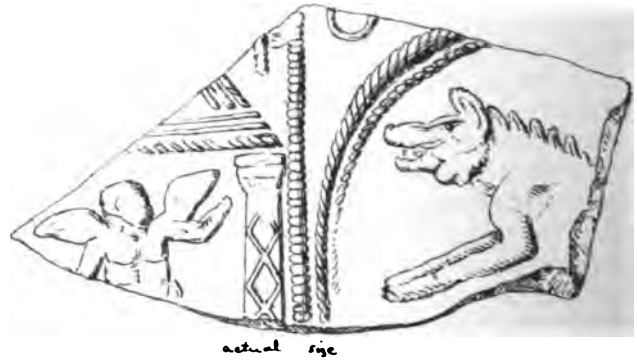
ON Monday evening, January 3rd, the ordinary monthly meeting was held at the Commercial Rooms, the Rev. Chancellor Raikes presiding, who opened the proceedings with an earnest appeal to the members at large not to leave the whole burden on the Secretaries, and especially on the Clergy, whose more direct duties could only allow them to set the first example, in hopes that the laity would carry on the work. It was with this object and expectation that he had from the first, after some scruples, assisted in establishing and promoting the ends of the Society; and now he feared he should again have to call upon one of the Secretaries, whose time was greatly taken up in higher matters, to supply the place of a layman, who had been prevented from attending on that occasion.

The translation of the remarkable deed, discovered among the archives of Lord Westminster, and referred to by Dr. Ormerod as the Foundation Charter of St. Werburgh's, was then continued by the Rev. W. H. Massie. In it were mentioned, by the names they bore within fifty years after the Conquest, almost all the places around Chester,—Christleton, Littleton, Bache, Backford, Waverton, Coddington, Boughton, Bebington, the Churches of St. Olave, St. John, and St. Mary "de Castello," the midsummer fair, called the "St. Werburgh's holiday," the establishment of the market and shambles before the Abbey Gate, the fisheries and mills near the Dee Bridge, and other points too numerous to particularize. It was witnessed by Cadwalader, King of North Wales, among other nobles and great men in the court of the Earl of Chester. The confirmations of Anselm, and afterwards of Theobald, Archbishops of Canterbury, were appended also. (For a free translation of this remarkable document, as well as of the confirmation charters by Anselm and Theobald, the reader is referred to pages 291—297 of this volume. The correction, by Dr. Ormerod, the veteran historian of Cheshire, of an erroneous statement made by the Reverend lecturer in describing this deed, will be found in the Appendix.)



INSCRIBED TILE, OR ANTEFIX.

DUG UP AT CHESTER CASTLE



FRAGMENT OF SAMIAN WARE.

FOUND IN EXCAVATING AT THE MUSIC HALL, CHESTER.

Edmund Field del.

Numerous Roman remains, discovered in excavating for the foundations of the new almshouses at St. John's Hospital, were exhibited, with illustrations drawn on a large scale, one of the most remarkable of which was the fragment of a tile, with a boar, and the letters LEG. for "legion," stamped upon it. (See plate opposite page 153 of present volume.) This was proved by many examples from the Great Northern Wall, and another from Ribchester, to be the peculiar badge of the 20th Legion, stationed so long at Chester, as the pegasus was the badge of another legion, and *as the "goat" might be fairly called the badge of the 23rd Fusiliers then* (1853) *in garrison at Chester.* Another still more perfect tile of the same kind, discovered some years ago at Chester Castle, was sent by Mr. Gardner, and was much admired. It was manufactured of the ordinary red baked clay, the ornamentation being in unusually high relief. It bore a striking resemblance to the much smaller tile dug up at St. John's Hospital, especially in the standard-like termination of the G in LEG. The boar itself, as also the letters forming the inscription on the Castle tile, were exceedingly sharp and brilliant.* Mr. Gardner also exhibited a few fragments of Samian ware, found some feet beneath the surface while excavating at the Music Hall, Chester. On one of these fragments the figure of a boar, the favourite mark of the legion, was easily distinguishable. Equally deserving of notice was the head and shoulders of a hog, in stone, life size, dug up under the City Walls, near Pemberton's Parlour, on the premises of Mr. Wigginer, stonemason, and which was, no doubt, a relic of the same mighty legion.

The whole history and constitution of St. John's Hospital and its site, together with the Institution of the Blue School, were elucidated, and formed the subject of lengthened discussion, it being objected, however, that the report of the Charity Commissioners gave a view more unfavourable to the Corporation than the real facts would warrant. It was lamented that the instructions of the Court of Chancery had left so little scope to the architect, whose own choice (could he have exercised it) would have led him to record the date and character of the original Institution, as formed by Randal Blondeville (about A.D. 1200), by adopting a style of architecture accordant with that Earl's era. But the architect, Mr. Morris, as well as the Trustees of the School, could only make the best of the limited means and range allowed by the centralizing system.

Mr. Bradford exhibited some documents from the collection of the late Mr. Crane. Mr. Edwards explained some details connected with the site of the Blue School: and the meaning of the word "Eye"—in Rood Eye,

* The illustrations adorning this page we owe to the amateur pencil of Mr. T. N. Brushfield, whose artistic powers are equally well displayed in more instances than one in our present volume. In thus laudably coming forward to the assistance of the Council, Mr. Brushfield has shewn, to those of our Members who have a taste for drawing, an example which we trust they will not be slow to imitate.

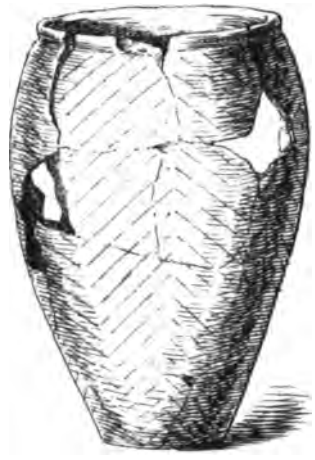
Earl's Eye, Arnold's Eye, Salten Eye, King's Eye, Angle's Eye, Peover Eye—(many of them occurring in the deed read at the meeting)—was variously explained, Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Frith identifying Arnold's Eye with the "Point of Ayr," the word in general applying to a meadow, or island, or any place subject to the overflowing of water.

A large quantity of Samian and other pottery, found on the site of St. John's Hospital,—a few bronze relics of interest, likewise, brought to light during the same excavations, were exhibited at this meeting. Among these we may notice a neat *fibula*, or brooch, of the usual Roman type: a somewhat roughly made instrument, apparently the end of a small standard or staff; and a curious little vessel, supposed to be a *thuribulum*, or incense cup, with a diminutive spoon found close to the latter. These are all now in the possession of Mr. J. Edwards, Master of the Blue Coat Hospital, a Member of our Society, who has kindly permitted the accompanying drawings to be made of them. Some spurious articles were further brought forward, by way of exemplifying the features of obvious distinction between genuine and false examples.

Mr. Frederick Potts sent two curious specimens of sepulchral urns, lately discovered in Queen's Park. One was composed of the ordinary red pottery, while the other, which was of a much larger size, was of black ware, and indented with a pattern very similar to the Norman chevron ornament. They lay beside a stone coffin found, in 1852, a little below the surface of the present road into the Park from Handbridge, and not far from the gate leading to Chivas' Nursery. The urns bear a strong resemblance to two others engraved in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, plate 10, Nos. 23 and 24, discovered several years ago in the Roman cemetery at Littlington, Cambridgeshire.

A donation of "Grose's Antiquities of England," in eight volumes, from Mr. Pownall, was thankfully acknowledged, as well as the *Journal* of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, and other gifts. The proceedings were kept up with animation and with interest to the last; and hopes were held out that Mr. Morris, the architect of the almshouses, would be able at the next meeting to fulfil his promise of following up the subject of St. John's Hospital further, with drawings of coffins and urns found among the ruins.

On Monday evening, February 7th, a considerable assemblage met, as usual, at the Commercial Rooms, Dr. McEwen in the chair. It was expected that Mr. Morris, the architect of St. John's Hospital, would have fulfilled his promise to illustrate and explain the sepulchral and other remains lately found upon the site. After a considerable delay, the members were obliged again to fall back upon their own resources, and fill up the gap left by the lecturer's absence with a conversational discussion, which



1.



3.



4



2.



5.



6.

ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES.

1.	large urn of black pottery	7 inches high	from Queen's park Chester.
2.	Small d° of pale red d°	3¾ — — — —	
3.	Bronze fibula	actual size	from the site of St Johns Hospital Chester.
4.	D° spoon	. d°	
5.	D° cupel (Thuribulum?)	2 inches diameter	
6.	D° end of staff (?)	2¼ — long	

Wrightington. 1867.

perhaps is as generally interesting (so far as the immediate occasion goes) as a more formal recital. The drawings prepared for Mr. Morris furnished a groundwork for the subject, and the presence of Mr. T. N. Brushfield, Medical Superintendent of the Cheshire County Lunatic Asylum, who has given particular attention to the various forms of burial practised in our country during the Celtic, Roman, and Saxon periods, supplied a place of appeal in any case where information was required The evidence to be derived from the opening of barrows, as to the habits, civil, religious, and military, of our British forefathers, and of the various tribes who have been mingled with the race from the earliest ages, and the details peculiar to each, with the articles of dress, furniture, war, &c., were shewn by actual examples in the museum. The position of the "barrows" in Cheshire, at Twemlow, Chelford, Coddington, and of the few which still remain near Chester, on the ancient road through Eccleston, and the propriety of recording their contents with accuracy, whenever opened, were dwelt upon in turn.

The stone cist, enclosing a lead coffin, recently found in Queen's Park, together with the broken jars, &c. lying near it, and carefully preserved and put together by Mr. F. Potts, were proved by comparison with others found at Colchester, and elsewhere, to be of the Romano-British period. The cist, which measures 47 by 24 inches outside, and 42 by 14 inches inside, is still preserved in a garden attached to one of the houses in Queen's Park, having been deposited there at the time by Mr. Hitchen, one of our members. The urns were found, one at the head and the other at the foot of the stone coffin. The latter contained a skull, and a few inferior bones, the whole being covered over with a strong stone slab. From instances adduced from the catacombs, and so on to the mediæval times, the marks and emblems incised on tombstones were shewn to denote the office, sex, or trade of the persons buried, and to correspond often with similar articles deposited within the grave itself. A pewter chalice from a priest's tomb at Durham (sent for exhibition), and the pastoral staff so often found by the side of abbots, in their coffins, were proofs of a more recent date. A singular stone fragment, having formed part of a Roman monument (with a reclining figure, and the hollow for receiving libations at the parentalia,) discovered in 1852, and accurately corresponding to an entire one in the museum at Tivoli, was exhibited, all of which examples supplied ample material for the evening's instruction. (Of this last-named monument an engraving will be found a few pages farther on in our present volume.)

Letters from Mr. Morris (of Shrewsbury), Mr. Wynne (of Sion), Sir P. Egerton, Mr. Ormerod, Mr. Crofton Croker, and other antiquaries, were afterwards referred to. A discussion followed on the selection of a place wherein to deposit the increasing stock of curiosities and books, regret being expressed that the suggestion of Mr. Trevor, Mr. Potts, and other parties,

as to the establishment of a Public Museum, under Ewart's Act, had not been adopted by the Council, as it had been at Manchester, Warrington, and other places less prolific in local remains, which, after all, bring more visitors and travellers to Chester, for the benefit of the city, than almost anything else. The Society was far from exclusive, and only wished the general good of the community, and would gladly add their stores to any public place of deposit, so long as they could conveniently refer to them for the purpose of their lectures.

Some drawings by Mr. S. Brown for the restoration of sculpture on the Exchange, were considerately forwarded to the meeting by the City Surveyor, together with some slight but spirited sketches, procured from the College of Heralds, through the Marquess of Westminster. On the whole, the designs of Mr. Brown, in all their leading features, were thought judicious, as being probably accurate resemblances of the almost obliterated originals. The fabric of the Exchange was finished in 1699, under William and Mary, but the ornamentation had evidently followed presently afterwards, so that the arms would be those of the Realm under Queen Anne, whose image (in the absence of proof to the contrary) may fairly be presumed to have been erected on her accession in 1702. In this case, the arms would be the same as those of James I., with the garter round (and, if any motto underneath,) "*Semper eadem.*" (?) It would be hard, though not impossible, to suppose such a thing deferred till after the Union, in 1707, when a considerable difference was made in the coat, as appears from the front of Pemberton's Parlour. Accordingly, Mr. Brown's drawing would be probably correct; indeed, the absence of the shamrock in the appendages may be said to prove it.

With respect to the other coat of arms, on the south side, it was a mistake to suppose they were those of Earl Blondeville, who had been dead 500 years before;—they were rather those of the *then* existing representative of the Earldom, who also held the Principality,—the banner of Wales and that of Cornwall appearing at the corners, as well as the supporters of the Prince of Wales upon each side,—so that Mr. Brown was right in intending them for the coat of the Earldom as held by the Prince, or (since *he* died in 1700) by the Sovereign herself, *pro. tem.* On this account it was also quite right to omit the label of primogeniture, which would otherwise have been introduced. The Dukedom of Cornwall always goes along with the Principality of Wales and Earldom of Chester in the Royal family.

The coat upon the north side was also in the main correctly taken for that of the city of Chester, granted under Flower, the herald, in Queen Elizabeth's reign; and the sketches now furnished by the Herald's College ought to be kept with that charter, as justifying the improved dimidiation, coming, as it did, from equal authority. A small alteration in the lions

was recommended to Mr. Brown, as suggested by the herald's sketch. As to minor points of mere artistical or minute detail, time would not allow hypercriticism; nor could the Society pretend to interfere with what belonged more peculiarly to the province of the artist and the architect. With regard to such points, and the figure of Queen Anne, the sculptor had better carefully copy the original, and every ornament on the crown and coronets, with as much accuracy as possible. It is still to be hoped that the balustrade, &c. of which portions are preserved within the building, may be placed around the parapet, as it originally was, instead of the present ugly wall.—(This has since been carried out as here suggested.)

After a few words from the Chairman, the meeting broke up.

The Archæological Society held their usual monthly meeting on Monday evening, March 7th, the Right Worshipful the Mayor in the chair.

Mr. Ayrton read a paper on "The River Dee and its Fisheries," (see pp. 234—250 of this Volume), in which he traced the various phases of the river from the time of the Conquest up to the present day. He commenced by contrasting the appearance of the river now from what it must have been in former centuries, when from the immense tracts of uncultivated ground through which it then flowed, its floods were so continual and so overwhelming; and the different aspect it bore under the rule of the Earls of Chester, when not a boat could be launched on its waters or a net thrown without their permission. He illustrated this part of his paper by producing some records belonging to the Marquess of Westminster; in particular a voluminous deed of confirmation from Edward III. to the Monks of Dieulucresse, near Leek, which recited several deeds of gift to those monks from different Earls of Chester, when they resided at Pulton, before they were translated to Leek by Ranulph, sixth Earl of Chester. He also produced one original deed (mentioned in Edward III.'s *Inspeximus)* from the said Ranulph, by which he gave to the Monks of Pulton, to have one free boat upon the river Dee to fish with by day and by night.

Mr. Ayrton next proceeded to notice a peculiarity in the jurisdiction of the river from time immemorial, by which it claimed exemption from the authority to which the rivers of England generally were subject, (viz. the "Commission of Sewers,") and asserted its right to exert powers of scrutiny, punishment, fine, and forfeiture, for offences done within its waters, by virtue of an office called the "Serjeantcy of the Waters of Dee." This office was claimed by the predecessors of the Grosvenor family, and exercised by them as early as the reign of Edward III.; and Mr. Ayrton produced the original claim of Robert de Eaton of that date, which he read. He then followed their assertion of this right through succeeding centuries up to the last exercise of it in 1705, when Robert Brerewood, as Sir Richard Grosvenor's deputy (Sir Richard being a minor), proceeded with several boats

from Dee Bridge to Hilbre Island, in order to remove all stake nets and obstructions to the course of the river. Mr. Brerewood's account of the voyage, which was a very stormy one, and their adventures,—staving two of the boats,—putting into Parkgate for shelter,—and not getting back to Chester until the fifth day of their excursion, was very interesting, and an amusing contrast to the present railway times. It appears that the right to this office was claimed at various times by the Mayor and Corporation of Chester; and on this very occasion of Mr. Brerewood's exercise of it, they denied his right, and refused to sign the warrant he applied for, calling on certain citizens to assist him. They asserted that it belonged to them, by right of a charter from Henry VII.; which charter Mr. Ayrton alluded to as having been recently brought to light by Mr. Black, and as still existing in the muniment rooms at Chester Castle. He also produced a deed from the Lord High Admiral of England, dated 20th year of the reign of Henry VIII., confirming the authority of the Mayor and Corporation in every sense, over the very district claimed by the Grosvenor family, viz. from "Arnold's-eyre to Eaton-weyre;" and disclaiming all power of interference on the part of the Admiralty. Some discussion was elicited by the consideration of these claims, in which the Mayor, the Chancellor, Mr. Williams, Mr. Potts, and Mr. Massie took part; the general opinion appearing to be that, as nothing had ever been done to set aside the charter of Henry VII., that this power was still vested in the Mayor and Corporation of Chester.

Mr. Ayrton next alluded briefly to the *quondam* weir at Eaton, its supposed site, &c.; and to the controversies which arose in the 17th century between the owners of the Dee Mills and the citizens, whom they attempted to coerce, by obliging them to grind all their corn in those Mills. In conclusion, he noticed the obligation the Society was under to the Marquess of Westminster, who, by the very kind and liberal manner in which he had placed those valuable deeds in his hands for the purpose, had enabled him to bring them before the meeting for their consideration.

On Monday evening, the 4th of April, the usual monthly meeting of the Society was held at the City Library. The Rev. Chancellor Raikes presided; and Mr. Beamont, of Warrington, read an excellent Paper, descriptive of an ancient Altar Tomb in Warrington Church, of the same character as one which formerly stood in the Troutbeck Chapel, at St. Mary's, Chester, but which was unfortunately destroyed by the falling of the roof about 150 years ago. The paper was illustrated by several admirable drawings, and was replete with historical incidents and legendary lore of great interest; the subject was treated, in fact, with most intelligent discrimination and talent, and in a manner betokening no slight amount of antiquarian research, as will be at once apparent to those who refer back to pages 217—233 of our present Volume.

The Chancellor having expressed to Mr. Beamont the thanks of the meeting, Mr. Hicklin read Mr. Black's Report on the Rolls and Records now deposited in Chester Castle, which has been printed by order of the House of Commons, on the motion of Sir John Hanmer, M.P. for the Flintshire Boroughs. A discussion ensued; and ultimately the Report, which is most interesting and important, was referred for consideration to the Council of the Society. (See pages 312—329 of our present Volume, for full particulars of Mr. Black's useful labours in this city, in connection with these Records. The County Records have since been removed *en masse* to the Rolls Office, London.)

The ordinary monthly meeting of the Society was held on Monday, May 2nd, the Rev. Delves Broughton in the chair.

The Rev. Chancellor Raikes gave a highly interesting "Account of the opening of a Tomb at Hyampolis, in Bœotia," and produced several very elegant specimens of pottery which were found on the occasion. In tracing the manners and habits of ancient times, nothing, he observed, remained to us more significant than the forms of burial adopted by different nations, or, rather, different races of men; and it was a distinctive character of the Asiatic tribes from very remote ages, that their funereal ceremonies were performed with great pomp and at vast expense. He instanced various records of Holy Writ, and the remains of Petra, all of which, in their grandeur and costly execution, belonged to the dead; while the edifices with which the living had been content were long since swept away. These tributes of affection from those mourners who, in the ages preceding Christianity, had no sure ground for hope of a meeting again, were not to be lightly regarded.

The Greeks, though highly civilized, were less ostentatious in their funeral rites, though not less apparently mindful of the dead;—their epitaphs were often full of touching simplicity and pathos, and contrasted well with the verbose eulogiums of later times. One in particular had struck him from its mournful simplicity, merely naming the bereaved and the departed, as if all the world must needs understand the rest:—

ΕΠΙ ΧΑΡΙΚΛΕΙ
ΗΡΩΝ.

"ERON, ON CHARICLES."

One characteristic was to be noticed, as distinguishing the customs of all ancient times from those of later and present date. It was not until the superstition of mediæval ages attributed superior sanctity to the precincts of the church as places of burial* that intramural interment was ever per-

* It was Cuthbert, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 741, who first ordered that burials should take place in cemeteries adjacent to the churches.

mitted; but so strong a bold had that habit obtained on the affections, that it required all the exertion of enlightened civilization to overcome mankind's prejudice in favour of a custom, which paid honour to the dead at the expense of the living. The Rev. Chancellor proceeded to give an extemporaneous and very interesting narrative of a visit made by himself to Hyampolis, many years ago, when comparatively very few Englishmen had visited Greece, and when the victories of Nelson had just given a prestige to the English name, which rendered his researches more practicable than they would otherwise have been. Prompted by these opportunities, and by the impossibility of making the same researches at Athens (then under French influence), he excavated at random in the vicinity of the remote town of Hyampolis, and, after one or two essays, came upon a tomb containing the vessels and figures which he now laid before them. Most of these had probably contained offerings of oil, honey, or perfume; and the figures (which were models of a cock and a dove) he supposed to have been indicative of the tastes of the person deceased. Some difference of opinion transpired among the members present on this head, and it was suggested that these emblems were either dedications to certain deities, or indicative of the pursuit and profession of the person. The vases, though not possessed of the finish belonging to later productions, and, with one exception, not ornamented with figures, were strikingly light, elegant, and of the classical form so peculiar to Grecian works of art. Our archæological meetings have seldom been gratified with a discourse which combined learning and research with so happy an extemporaneous and unstudied delivery. It was this, indeed, that relieved the subject from the appearance of too abstruse science, and made it interesting to all.

The Rev. Thomas Gleadowe, of Wroxeter, presented a sketch of a Roman altar existing in his parish, with the inscription

DEABVS
NYMPHIS
BRITANNIÆ
L. CARACTACVS
CORNAVTVS
V. S. L. M.

After a vote of thanks from the Chairman to the Rev. Chancellor Raikes, seconded by the Rev. W. Clarke, the meeting broke up.

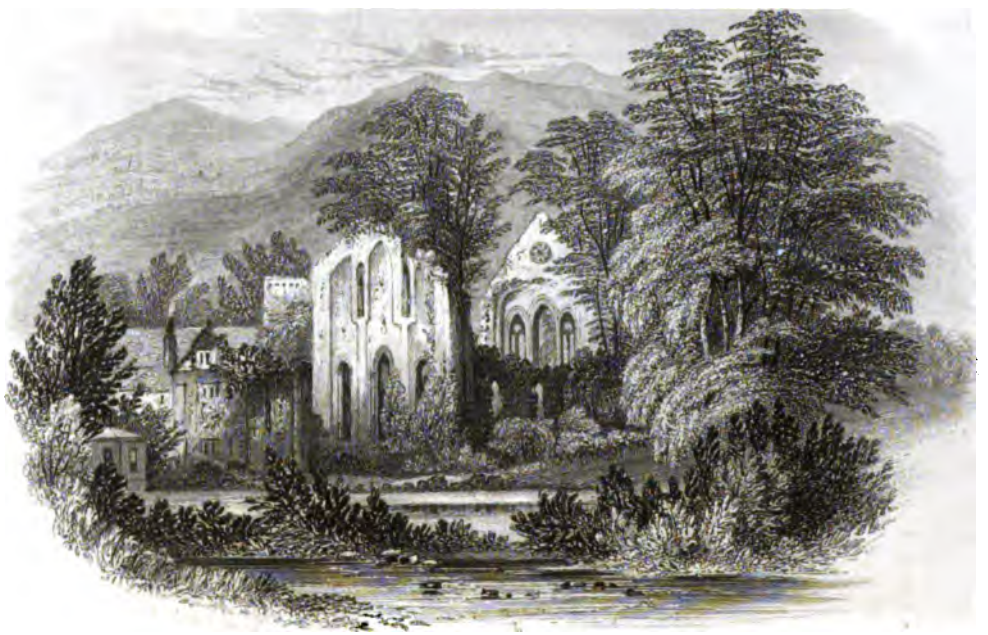
The Society's usual monthly meeting was held on Monday evening, the 6th of June, the Rev. Chancellor Raikes in the chair.

Mr. Edgar Garston (author of "Greece Revisited") read a Paper on "The Cyclopeian Remains of Greece," in which he gave a forcible picture of their present state and appearance, and entered very fully into the reputed origin and purposes. Mr. Garston prefaced his remarks on the

remains by a short sketch of the traditions existing respecting the people to whom they are attributed; observing that, after connecting all the links which differing historians supply to us, their distinct character and origin must still ever remain a matter of surmise, though no doubt can be entertained (divesting them of their fabulous attributes) that they were a powerful and energetic race. He remarked it as singular that, though Homer alludes to their works, and particularly to the "well-walled Tirynthus," he nowhere speaks of the "Cyclops," but of the "Pelasgi," who were supposed by later writers to have succeeded them; five hundred years later, Sophocles and Euripides both mentioned these remains as the works of the Cyclops. The most ancient of these remains, Tirynthus, was first examined and described by Mr. Garston, assisted by ground plans and illustrations, and he dwelt at some length upon the celebrated intermural galleries, which were no doubt intended as a means of defence, and belonged to the Citadel. The immense masses of which these galleries are built, have preserved them from the ravages of time or war; and they still present to spectators the same appearance which, according to Pausanias, they wore in the second century. They may safely be supposed to date from about the time when Joseph was appointed ruler over Egypt. From Tiryns, Mr. Garston conducted his audience to Mycenæ, and gave sketches of the Acropolis and its entrances, especially dwelling upon the far-famed "Gate of the Lions." The emblems on this gate appear to assimilate with many on the temples of Egypt, where the sun and the elements of fire and water are represented by the same hieroglyphics. Turning from the Gate of the Lions to the neighbouring (so called) Treasury of Atreus, Mr. Garston minutely described the peculiarities of its construction, and discussed the arguments on which certain writers separately ascribe its original intention to have been that of a tomb or a treasury. He himself was disposed rather to associate with it a religious character, and supposed it to have been a temple dedicated to purposes of worship, either to Isis, Osiris, or Baal. After noticing the city of Argos and the remains in its neighbourhood, Mr. Garston concluded his very interesting paper by a general survey of buildings possessed of Cyclopeian character, both in Greece, Italy, and Sardinia; and noticed a supposed similarity in the Celtic remains in this country, but only to dissent from any attributed identity of origin. We understand Mr. Garston purposes favouring the Society with a paper on the later and more finished remains of Grecian architecture at no very distant period.

Mr. Edwards (Master of the Blue School) presented to the Society a stone, about eighteen inches high, lately found built into the wall of a cellar in White Friars, having a figure sculptured in bas-relief, undoubtedly Roman. It is indeed evidently a companion to one found some months since in the same street, a sketch of which was given opposite page 203 of the Society's present Volume.

The Annual Excursion of this Society was taken on Thursday, June 30, when a party of thirty-six ladies and gentlemen left Chester at nine o'clock a.m. by the Shrewsbury and Chester Railway for the Llangollen Station, passing through a most lovely and verdant district, which the fineness of the day and the peculiar clearness of the atmosphere developed with more than ordinary beauty. At Llangollen Road, the excursionists embarked in one of the swift passenger boats of the Shropshire Union Company, specially provided for their accommodation, and enjoyed a delightful sail along the Ellesmere Canal, which runs through a succession of charming scenery over the Pont-y-Cysyllty aqueduct,—a noble triumph of engineering skill, which carries the canal across the Vale of Llangollen and the River Dee, at the height of 120 feet above the surface of the brawling streams below. From this elevation, landscapes of varying beauty and grandeur are seen to advantage; and fine views are obtained of the magnificent viaduct which spans the luxuriant valley, and carries the Shrewsbury and Chester Railway across that picturesque ravine on nineteen arches, at an elevation of 147 feet. These and other objects of striking interest having been passed, the canal meanders between groves of stately trees, through which constantly changing glimpses of the surrounding country are obtained, and, towering above those tranquil scenes of Arcadian loveliness, rise the rugged sides of the eagle crags, and the rocky steep on which frown the castellated remains of Dinas Bran. The course of the water then flows past the town of Llangollen, which lies below, nestling in the romantic shelter of an amphitheatre of verdant hills on the banks of its renowned river. A further sail to the Slate Quarry took the visitors to the appointed landing place, whence a gentle walk through a rural district led them to the ancient ruins of Valle Crucis Abbey; which, like the place of Lord Byron's poetic devotion, "lies sequestered in a happy valley," admirably adapted to shut out the world's excitements, to promote a calm spirit of holy contemplation, and to refresh the mind with those evidences of Almighty goodness, of which the Psalmist sings, "He hath so done His marvellous works that they ought to be had in remembrance." The Abbey was founded about the year 1200, and in conformity with the rule of the Cistercian fraternity, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; it was dissolved in the year 1535, and is said to have been the first of the Welsh monasteries which underwent the doom of abolition. Its architectural remains, which sufficiently denote the great beauty of the original edifice, were examined with lively interest, and the more so, as by the intelligent zeal of Lord Dungannon, who has devoted much time and energy to the work, parts long hidden from view are now developed, and such restorations have been effected as enable the patient archæologist not only to comprehend the real character and style of the noble edifice, but also to illustrate some of the historic records with which its existence is connected. Several antique monuments have been dis-



VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY.
NEAR LLANGOLLEN

covered; and are placed in that portion of the chancel where they originally lay, when the bodies of those whom they commemorated were committed to the dust of death. The relics of the Abbey, which were built into an adjoining farm-house, were also inspected with much care and curiosity; and having made themselves familiar with the various parts of the venerable fabric, the excursionists were joined by Lord Dungannon and a party of his friends: when his Lordship kindly explained the result of his restorative labours and his antiquarian researches. Mr. Caton, who accompanied Lord Dungannon, also read a series of interesting notes with reference to the old monuments, and the genealogy of the departed whose tombs they had once covered.

Mr. Hicklin, at the request of the Members, expressed to Lord Dungannon the sincere thanks of the Chester Archæological Society for his kindness in meeting them on that occasion, and their warm appreciation of the manner in which the restorations of the Abbey have been carried out under his Lordship's personal superintendence.

Lord Dungannon, in reply, thanked the Society for this gratifying acknowledgment of his services in promoting archæological investigations; and assured them of the pleasure it always afforded him to contribute to the advancement of antiquarian knowledge, and to elucidate those important historical records which appertain to such buildings as that which they were then examining.

Lord Dungannon's friend was also thanked for his interesting explanations; and a due record of this visit having been entered in the journal of the intelligent custodian of the Abbey, the party separated into various detachments for rambles in the immediate vicinity. Among other memorials of olden time, the celebrated Pillar of Eliseg was visited; it stands about a quarter of a mile from Valle Crucis, on an ancient tumulus, in a beautifully secluded glen. It was erected by Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllug, in memory of his great grandfather Eliseg, whose son Brochmail Yscythrog, grandfather of the founder of this rude monument of filial affection, was engaged in the memorable border wars at the close of the sixth century, and was defeated at the battle of Chester, A.D. 603. During the great Rebellion, this pillar was thrown down by Oliver Cromwell's "Reformers," who in their fiery zeal for destruction mistook it for a "Popish Cross;" and it remained for more than a century in its broken recumbent condition, when it was restored and replaced upon a pedestal. It now forms an interesting relic of antiquity, and is probably the oldest British Cross, bearing a carved inscription, which exists in these islands,—that said inscription having long been a puzzle to the learned investigator of archæological remains.

Lord Dungannon is anxious to carry out still further the restorations at Valle Crucis; but we are sorry to hear that his Lordship's proposal to put up a proper abbatical door, and to develope the architectural character of

the entrance, has met with a positive repulse from the proprietors of the Abbey; and he is forbidden to do more in the way of improvement! We had thought that such prejudices against archæological researches had died away; but we must "wait a little longer." The excursionists having re-assembled at the Canal, where they had disembarked, again took boat, and full of pleasant chat about what they had seen, soon reached Llangollen, where the Church, which contains the finely carved roof from Vale Crucis Abbey,* and the Old Bridge, were examined with some interest. An adjournment then took place to the Hand Hotel, where a cold collation, served up with excellent taste and liberality, was enjoyed; after which rambles in the pleasant garden by the river side, and an occasional run to Plas Newydd, the far-famed domicile of "The Ladies of Llangollen," whiled away the time till the departure of the boat, which conveyed the party by canal to the Llangollen Station, whence the railway carriages, reserved for their use, brought them back to Chester at nine o'clock, p.m., evidently delighted with an excursion which will, no doubt, form a subject for future discussion at the usual meetings of the Society.

We must not close our narrative without a grateful acknowledgment of the facilities afforded on the occasion by the Railway and Canal Companies.

A meeting of the Members of this Society was held on Monday, November 7th, at the Board Room of the New Savings' Bank, Mr. Williams (Old Bank) in the chair.

The programme for the evening contained no new paper on any particular subject; but in consequence of its being the opening meeting for the session of 1853-54, it had been determined to pass in review the papers of the past session, thus affording opportunity to their authors for a brief recapitulation of their opinions, and to the members of addressing such queries and remarks on the different subjects as might in the interim have occurred to them. Accordingly, the walls of the very handsome and appropriate room in which the meeting was for the first time held, were covered with illustrations of the various papers read during the last twelve months, and the number of subjects announced on the programme as relating to them promised a very prolonged, if not adjourned debate. Unfortunately, many of those who had taken the lead in the past meetings were unavoidably absent,—some from indisposition, and others from pressing engagements of a public official nature; so that the entire burthen of supplying matter for the evening fell upon two of the Secretaries,—the Rev. W. H. Massie

* Since this report was written, Mr. E. A. Freeman, than whom we can quote no higher living architectural authority, has expressed his doubts about the truth of this statement. He says of Llangollen Church roof, that "it is clear from its whole design and proportion, that it was originally intended for the place which it now occupies."

and Mr. Ayrton,—who certainly exerted themselves most manfully to sustain the task thus thrown upon them.

Mr. Massie gave a brief sketch of his paper "On the Monasteries and Nunneries of Chester," accompanied by a plan of the city, and pointing out the different localities, to which he assigned their site. In doing so, he dwelt upon the interest communicated to the "highways and byeways" of our old city by some acquaintance with its former history, and urged a study of local archæology as in every sense both useful and attractive. He noticed the two figures (one of which is represented at page 203 of our *Journal*,) lately found in White Friars, at different ends of the street, as being undoubtedly identical in date and origin, though differing in attitude, both being Roman. He called attention to the monument lately found in Trinity Church, of which a very interesting illustration was exhibited, and which was the remains of what had, no doubt, been a very magnificent altar-tomb, closely resembling that of Sir Hugh Calveley, in Bunbury Church; the date of that in Trinity Church being 1374, the one at Bunbury 1390. This was a tomb of one of the Whitmores, who were great benefactors to the city in their day. An illustration of this tomb will be found opposite page 357 of the present Volume. Mr. Massie next alluded to the Roman Bath, and its present state, expressing the obligation the public were under to Mr. Royle for the care which he had taken to preserve its remains intact, during the alterations he had been making over it. (See plate opposite page 356.)

Mr. Ayrton was called upon for some remarks on "The River Dee and its Fisheries," which he gave, describing the laws by which the supervision and conservation of rivers generally throughout the kingdom had been governed, and comparing with them the special rights which different members of the Eaton family had exercised over the Dee, and which were derived originally from the Earls of Chester, as appertaining to "the dignity of the Sword of Chester." These rights, he conceived, still existed, though now vested in the Mayor and Corporation of the city, by right of a charter of Henry the Seventh, then among the records of Chester Castle. He read a summary of Mr. Garston's paper "On the Cyclopeian Remains of Greece," accompanied by some remarks on their peculiar style of architecture.

Some desultory conversation on the "Sinaitic Inscriptions" took place, on referring to the illustrations of the Rev. Chancellor Raikes' paper on the subject, in which the Rev. D. Broughton, Mr. Williams, the Rev. W. H. Massie, &c. engaged; but the Chancellor being unavoidably absent, it was determined to postpone a fuller discussion of the matter to a future opportunity.

The Rev. W. H. Massie exhibited a small folio M.S. volume of the 16th century, in the autograph of Robert Rogers, B.D., Archdeacon of Chester between 1580-95. It had been considerately forwarded for the inspection

of the Society by George Fortescue Wilbraham, Esq. of Delamere Lodge, Cheshire, with permission to use it in any way which might seem desirable to the Council. It was placed for examination in the hands of Mr. Hughes, who, a short time afterwards, reported it to contain a complete list of the Mayors and Sheriffs of Chester, a history of the Palatinate Earldom, and various other Cheshire matters of high interest. It was, in fact, just such a work as should be published, without abridgment, and with illustrative notes, by the Chetham Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Wilbraham for his courtesy in forwarding the volume for exhibition.

The entertainment of the evening, though desultory, and not possessed of much novelty, was on the whole extremely agreeable; the "table talk" being, after all, perhaps less formidable and more acceptable generally than the delivery of a dry and abstruse paper. At the same time, we should remember that mere diversion is not the principal object of these meetings, and that solid information cannot always be dressed in the garb of amusement.

The last monthly meeting for the year was held on Tuesday evening, December 6th, in the Albion Assembly Room, when Mr. T. C. Archer delivered a lecture "On the new Crystal Palace at Sydenham," during which most interesting information was communicated on the locality and then state of the building,—the architectural improvements and novel additions,—the terrace gardens,—the extraordinary hydraulic works, and grandeur of the fountains,—the temple of roses, and general design of the gardens. The objects of the Crystal Palace—in an educational point of view—as a means for advancing the various branches of natural history and applied sciences, were clearly described; the magnificent projects for illustrating ethnology, zoology, botany, and geology, were also explained; and complete illustrations of the useful applications of science were exemplified. The unexampled comprehensiveness of the fine arts collection in the sculpture department, and the arrangements for the illustration of architectural eras, were ably delineated.

The lecture was listened to with much attention by a numerous and highly intelligent audience, and was illustrated by Mr. P. H. Delamotte's splendid series of large photographs and maps of the Sydenham Palace, with its adjacent grounds. At the close of his observations, a vote of thanks, on the motion of the Rev. Chancellor Raikes, was heartily awarded to Mr. Archer for his interesting and instructive lecture. It only remains for us to record here, that the Crystal Palace was opened in becoming form by Her Majesty the Queen in person, on Saturday, the 10th of June, 1854, in the presence of an immense concourse of distinguished visitors.

1854.

The monthly meeting was held on the second Monday evening in January, and the chair having been taken by the Rev. Canon Blomfield, the Rev. F. Grosvenor read an intelligent and interesting paper on "The Annexation of the Principality of Wales to the English Crown." It was a lucid and comprehensive abstract of all the historical events bearing upon the subject, from the time of the Norman conquest till the reign of Edward the First, when the territory of the ancient Cambrian sovereigns became subject to the English sceptre. It is printed *in extenso* at pp. 263—278 of this Volume. Mr. Blomfield, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Grosvenor, warmly commended the paper, and made a few remarks on the subject which it so well illustrated. Mr. Williams (of the Old Bank) in seconding the proposition, also added some pertinent and amusing observations; and Mr. Hicklin addressed the meeting in further elucidation of some historical points which had been alluded to by Mr. Grosvenor.

Mr. Blomfield then vacated the chair (to which Mr. Williams succeeded) for the purpose of reading a paper "On St. Nicholas Chapel," better known then as the Chester Theatre. The various vicissitudes through which the old building had passed were described with lively and graphic effect, and enlivened by incidental allusions to the manners and customs of the Cestrians at the various periods in which it was successively used a Chapel, a Town Hall, a Wool Mart, and a Theatre. This paper, forming a welcome contribution to our local history, will be found printed at large at pp. 251—262 of the present volume of our *Journal*. Mr. Blomfield concluded by stating the particulars of the scheme for converting the Theatre into a Music Hall; and Mr. Harrison produced and explained the plans of the intended alterations. A vote of thanks to the Rev. Canon Blomfield for his able and interesting paper was moved by Mr. Williams and seconded by Mr. Hicklin, both of whom addressed the meeting on various topics, suggested by the history of the Theatre. A most agreeable evening of intellectual recreation was enjoyed.

At the monthly meeting, on Monday evening, February 9th, Dr. Richard Phillips Jones in the chair,

The Rev. Delves Broughton delivered an eloquent, interesting, and remarkably clever lecture "On the Sinaitic Inscriptions," which the publication of the Rev. Mr. Forster's book, entitled "The Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai," has brought into so much discussion among the literary and scientific circles of England and other countries. Mr. Broughton disputed, with great ability, the conclusions at which Mr. Forster had arrived; and, in the course of his arguments, exhibited an extent of antiquarian investigation and learned research of the most varied and intelligent

character. The lecture was illustrated by a number of drawings. At the close a rather animated discussion arose, in which several of the leading members of the Society took part; and a wish was expressed for some further opportunity of examining the statements, which so thoroughly contravened not only the inferences of Mr. Forster, but the tenour of a paper formerly read on the same subject by the Rev. Chancellor Raikes.

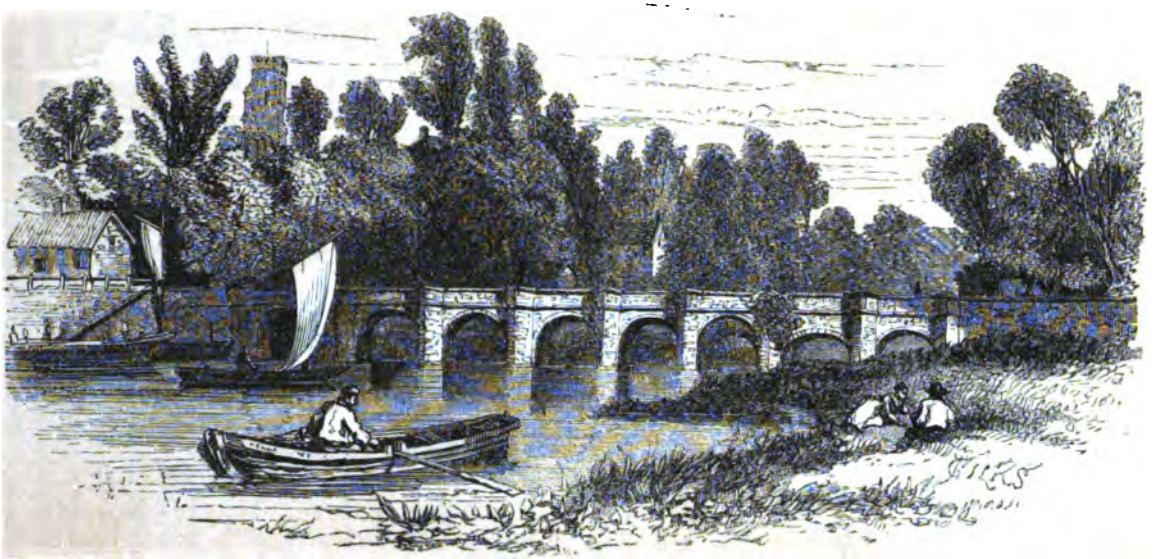
The Rev. Canon Blomfield then introduced some additional notes to his recent lecture on the history of St. Nicholas' Chapel, better known as the Chester Theatre; the most remarkable of which were the description of an old theatre, which formerly stood at the end of an obscure entry in Foregate Street, where the celebrated Garrick once performed,—the production of an old play-bill of the night's performance at the Puppet Show on November 5th, 1772, when seventy persons were killed while attending the entertainment, by an explosion of gunpowder from some premises underneath,—and a copy of an extract from the Harleian manuscripts, which Mr. Blomfield had obtained from the British Museum, in illustration of the history of St. Nicholas' Chapel, and which proves, what is a very unusual case, that an error has been committed by Dr. Ormerod, in his *History of Cheshire*, as to the nature of a contract between the Corporation of Chester and the Abbot of St. Werburgh. This document appears at length in the Appendix to the present Volume.

Thanks were voted to Mr. Broughton and Mr. Blomfield for the instruction and entertainment they had so kindly afforded; and thus closed a pleasant evening of intellectual enjoyment.

On Friday, July 14th, the annual excursion of this Society was taken, the places selected for visiting being Farndon, Holt, Aldford, Eaton Hall, and Eccleston. At 10 30 a.m. a party of fifty ladies and gentlemen embarked on board the convenient steam-boat which plies upon the Dee above the Causeway, under the command of "Captain" Kemp, and proceeded most pleasantly along the softly flowing river, which developes a charming succession of scenes of rural beauty, to the Iron Bridge of Eaton Park, when rain set in; and the voyage to Farndon was continued amidst heavy showers, which prevented the enjoyment of the picturesque prospects in the neighbourhood.

About one o'clock, the steamer was moored near the fine old Bridge of that village, which, with the tower of Farndon Church on the one hand and Holt Church on the other, and its ivy-clad rocks in the back ground, form a rich and charming picture of historic interest. * The Bridge was

* The accompanying illustration of Holt Bridge is a present to the Society from Thomas Baines, Esq. of Liverpool, who is about shortly to publish a serial work on the History of Lancashire and Cheshire, with engravings similar to that which embellishes the present notice.



Engraved from an original Sketch by Thomas Gilks.

HOLT BRIDGE, CHESHIRE.

built in the reign of Edward the Third; and in the centre are the remains of the gateway and tower, which formerly divided England and Wales. Pennant says that "the date 1345 was preserved till very lately on a stone over what is called the Lady's Arch." Farndon and Holt being built on the opposite banks of the River Dee, which is there but a narrow stream, present the appearance to the spectator of being the same town. John Speed, the historian, was a native of Farndon, where he was born in 1552.

The manor of Farndon belonged at the period of the Domesday survey to the Bishoprick of Lichfield, which diocese then included Cheshire; and it is now held under lease from that See by the family of Barnston of Churton, now represented by Major Roger H. Barnston, of Crewe Hill, one of the heroes of the Crimea. A younger brother of this gentleman, Captain William Barnston, also fought and bled for his country in the same arduous campaign.

Farndon Church was first visited; it is of very old foundation, being mentioned in Domesday, under the name of Forentone, as existing prior to the Conquest. The tower is good, and the eastern basement of the north chancel, together with some of the internal arches of the nave, are probably of Edward the Third's reign, at which time the Bridge was also built. None of the original Norman structure remains in view, and most of the outer walls and windows are subsequent even to the Reformation. There are, however, no galleries to obstruct improvements, and the lofty arches of the nave would ensure a general good effect, if the Church were to be thoroughly restored.

The Church yet contains some of those modern abominations—high enclosed pews, fitted up with tables, lounging seats, and curtains,—as if to screen off the occupants from "the people," and destroy the very notion of "common prayer." We were glad, however, to observe that a good work of restoration had commenced; a large pulpit had been removed from its unsightly position in front of the east window; the chancel was undergoing repairs and improvement, an open oak roof had been constructed, an appropriate new pulpit of good design had been placed on the south side of the arch, and a reading desk at the opposite corner; and several stalls of good ecclesiasiastical pattern were to be introduced. These improvements in the chancel have been effected at the cost of the Marquis of Westminster, who is lay Rector of the parish. The Church was burned by the Parliamentary army during the siege of Holt Castle, and re-built after the calamities of the "Great Rebellion,"—a fact confirmed by an old written paper found in the Church in an excellent state of preservation, which was handed to us for transcribing, and which runs thus:—"This Church being ruinated by fire, 1645, was repaired, and the bells all cast 1658, and was beautified by George Clubb and Hugh Maddock, Church Wardens, 1681." In a small gallery at the west end there is an organ, which was once a barrel organ,

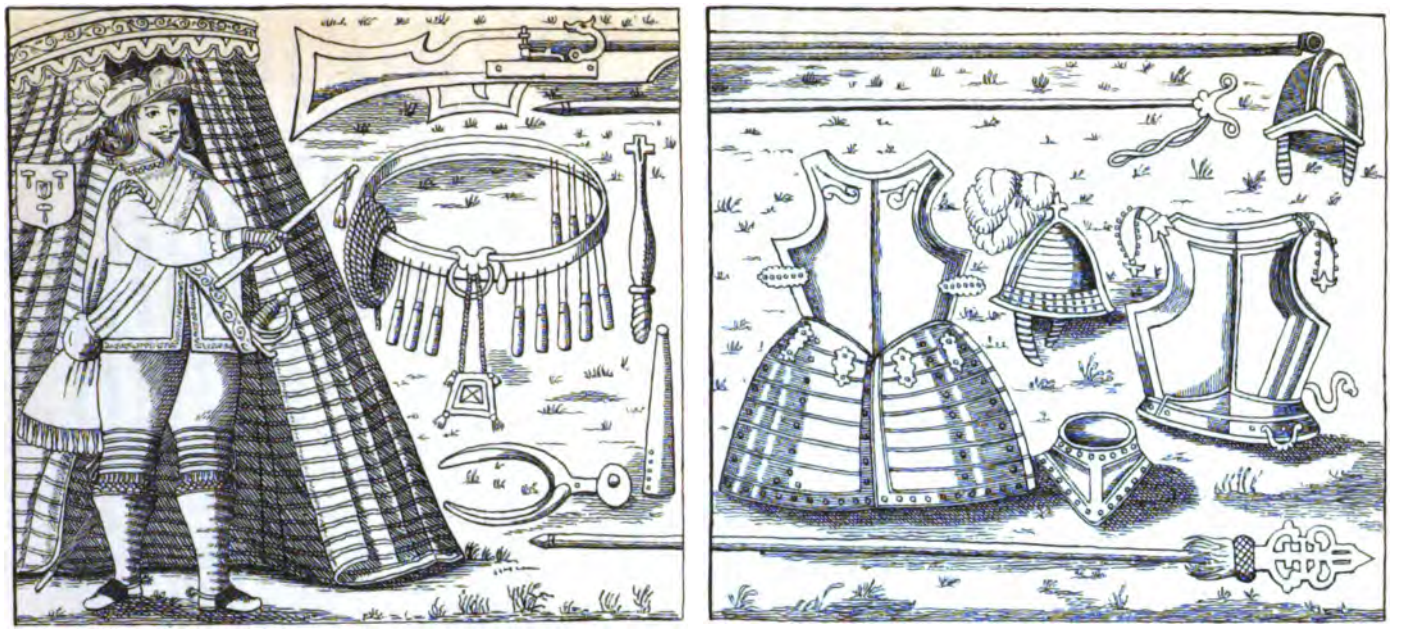
but keys have been ingeniously introduced by the village blacksmith, who plays upon it during Divine service,—an observation which immediately induced from one of the party the appropriate witticism, that the skilful mechanic must be "*The Harmonious Blacksmith.*"

A south chapel has always belonged to the Barnstons, who now also occupy the northern chapel, having received it from the Massies, of Coddington, with an exchange of certain lands. In a window of this chapel is an interesting little frame of stained glass, representing men at arms, and various officers of the time of Charles the First; Sir Francis Gamul (whose tomb is in St. Mary's, Chester,) occupying the chief compartment. Sir Francis was one of the three who stood by the side of King Charles on the leads of the Phœnix Tower, Chester, to watch the mortifying conflict on Rowton Moor. Charles created him a Baronet for his loyalty; but owing to the perilous times, the patent was never registered. The shields also indicate one figure as a Grosvenor, another as a Mainwaring, a third as a Barnston, and a fourth, hitherto unknown, but which is certainly Berrington, the standard bearer, whose shield of three greyhounds is carved on an oak above a mantel-piece in Castle-street, Chester.

We must not omit to mention also that there is an ancient monument, recently recovered from its interment under ground, and now placed erect at the west end of the Church; it is a figure in chain armour and *chapeau de fer*, of about the date of Edward III., though many might take it to be more antique from its workmanship. The inscription round the heater-shaped shield is "*Hic jacet Patriceius de Bartun—O'P'EO.*" *i. e.* "*Orate pro eo.*"—pray for him.

On leaving Farndon, the visitors passed from Cheshire into Denbighshire, by walking over the Bridge to the ancient town of Holt, which in days of yore was a place of considerable celebrity and importance, though now wearing the aspect of a dilapidated municipality.

Holt Church is capacious, on much the same ground plan and general character externally as Gresford, though the tower is older, and the ornamentation not near so rich. The internal arches of the nave are very highly pointed, and apparently of much older date than those at Farndon. The tracery of the windows is perpendicular, of the four-centred Tudor style, to which most of the other features have originally corresponded, but appear to have been renewed far more recently, much of the parapet and other parts betraying the good intention of what is called "the debased period." Still the Church is substantial, and is capable, like Farndon, of being made a noble edifice for congregational purposes, under favourable auspices and a judicious hand. The columns of the chancel have been restored in the fluted style, and the capital of the eastern half-pillar set not above it, but on one side, has been *said* to indicate that the Bishop of the diocese died, or was translated during the progress of the work. There



H. J. DeBars lith.

SIR FRANCIS GAMUL, BART.

MAYOR OF CHESTER, 1634.

From the centre compartment of a Painted Window in Farndon Church, Cheshire.

is a very curious old brass in this Church, of the date A.D. 1666, fixed in the northern wall near the east end; it records the following inscription, which is of a better purport than many of that period of epitaphic puffery:—

"The life of man, imperfect from the wombe,
Hasteneth both day and night unto the tombe;
Of mortal life when once the thread is spunne,
Man has a life immortal then begunne;
A wise man dying lives and living dies;
Such was ye man yt here entombed lies:
Carefull he lived God's sacred lawes to keepe
Religiously, until yt death or sleepe
Vnto a happy life his soul did bring,
Ending this life to live with Xt. our King."
"*Stipendium Peccati Mors.*"

Under the inscription is a recumbent skeleton, with the motto—

"Hodie Mihi, Cras Tibi."

and a record of the date of the death of the deceased, but not his name, which is indicated, after the fashion of those times, by an acrostic of the verse above, "Thomas Crve,"—Thomas Crewe. The tablet is surmounted by armorial bearings, supported by pedestals, at the top of which is engraved "*Fugit Hora.*"

During the troubles of the civil wars in the reign of Charles the First, the troops of Brereton's army are said to have stabled their horses in Holt Church; and some curious traditions are extant in the town as to the capricious excesses by which they signalized their contempt for consecrated edifices. The windows were originally filled with stained glass, some fragments of which are still discernible. From the Church the party proceeded to the remains of Holt Castle, which are very scanty, and but of slight interest now, for modern spoilers have completed what desolating conquerors began; and a few stone walls of an old tower are all that is left of the departed strength and glory of this ancient fortress. Pennant, in his "*Tours in Wales*," gives a curious old picture and ground plan of the building, which he thus describes:—

"The poor reliques of the Castle are seated close to the river; and are insulated by a vast foss cut through a deep bed of soft red stone; which seems originally to have been thus quarried for the building of the Castle. This fortress consisted of five bastions, and the work cut into that form, to serve as a base to as many towers. An antient survey I met with in the Museum, among the Harleian MSS. taken in 1620 by John Norden, when it was entire, will give a true idea of this curious structure. It had been defended in three parts by the great chasm formed by the quarry; on the fourth by the Dee, into which jutted a great quay, still to be seen in very dry seasons; for it has long since been covered by the encroachment of the river."

"Originally this place had been a small outpost to Deva. Slopes, and other now almost obsolete works, may be seen near the Castle, and on the opposite side of the water; and coins have been found here, that put the matter out of doubt. I have seen some of Antoninus, Gallienus, Constantinus, and Constantius. I conjecture that the Roman name had been Castra Legionis, and the Welsh, Castell Lleon, or the castle of the legion: because it was garrisoned by a detachment of the legion stationed at Chester. The English borderers might easily mistake Lleon for the plural of Llew, which signifies a lion, and so call it the Castle of Lions; as we find it styled when it came into possession of Earl Warren and his successors.

"This country formed part of Powysland; which, when entire, reached in a straight line from Broxton hills in Cheshire, southerly to Pengwern Powys, or Shrewsbury, including a large tract in both these counties; from thence through the eastern limits of Montgomeryshire, comprehending all that county, part of Radnorshire and Brecknockshire; then turning northward, included the cwmmwds of Mowddwy, Edeirnion, and Glyndyfrdwy. Merionethshire, and (circuiting part of Denbighshire) came along part of the Clwydian hills, to the summit of Moel-famma, including all Denbighshire, excepting those parts which at present constitute the lordships of Denbigh and Ruthin; from hence, taking a south-easterly direction to Broxton hills, asserted its right to Molesdale, Hopedale, and Maelor, in Flintshire. I have before taken notice, that Offa's encroachment was but temporary, and of short duration. I must farther observe, that in our articles of pacification between Henry III. and our last prince Llewellyn, the limits of the principality experienced but a very small diminution from what it was in Offa's time, when it was agreed that the Dee should be the boundary from Wirral to Castrum Leonum, or Holt; and from thence in a direct line to Pengwern Powys."

"It was, perhaps, of much greater extent under the reign of Brochwel Ysgythrog, who was defeated by the Saxons at the battle of Chester."

Poor as was Holt Castle in Pennant's days, it is poorer now, for no care seems to have been taken to protect the ruins, portions of which are visible as forming boundary walls and outbuildings in different parts of the town; still these memorials of former days are not without their interest, as suggestive of important historical associations, and may serve in many respects to "point a moral" for the reflective patriot, if not to "adorn a tale" for the lover of romance.

The Rev. R. W. Bagot and Mr. Owen of Farndon, and the Mayor of Holt kindly joined the excursionists to point out objects of interest, and to communicate local information.

The appointed time for leaving Holt having arrived, the party re-embarked, and the boat steamed on her homeward trip; the rain, however,

which had occasionally abated, now set in with most persevering earnestness, and continued to fall so heavily that the intended visit to Aldford Church was abandoned. On reaching the Iron Bridge, therefore, where it had been intended ("weather permitting") to enjoy a collation at the pretty cottage on the banks of the river, the excursionists landed and walked to Eaton Hall, in one of the newly-finished coach-houses of which mansion Mr. Allen, Lord Westminster's superintendent, had kindly arranged that the dinner might be served. Here, accordingly, under comfortable shelter from the pelting showers, the tables were set, and an excellent repast was provided for a party of fifty-three by Mr. Bolland, of Eastgate Row, with his usual good taste and liberality as a purveyor. The Mayor of Chester (Mr. J. Smith) presided, Mr. Hicklin officiating as vice-president. During the collation the toasts of "The Queen and the Ladies," "The Prince and the Gentlemen," and "The Marquis and Marchioness of Westminster," were duly proposed and honoured; and thanks were gratefully tendered to Mr. Allen for the kind consideration with which he had promoted the comfort of the party. Dinner having been discussed, the visitors proceeded to the interior of Eaton Hall, and the various alterations and embellishments of that princely mansion, with its splendid architecture, its fine pictures, its noble statuary, and elegant adornments, were examined with lively interest and admiration.

Unfortunately the weather continued too wet for the party to promenade the gardens, or to examine the peculiar alterations and marked improvements in the exterior of the Hall, which would properly fall within the investigations of a Society claiming to be "Architectural," as well as "Archæological and Historic." After leaving the Hall, the pitiless rain forbad the intended walk to Eccleston Church; and so the party adjourned to the steamer, which brought them safely back to Chester about half-past eight o'clock.

A more friendly and happy meeting was never enjoyed, so far as relates to the character and disposition of the party; but no archæologists, though as old as King Canute, can control the elements. The weather was sadly unfortunate, for with a balmy breeze and a bright sun, a more agreeable excursion could not be devised; but the prevailing temper was one of unalloyed kindness and goodwill, and served to illustrate the truth of somebody's observation that the light of woman's smiles can cheer the gloomiest day, for the good humour with which the ladies braved all the disappointments and discomforts of the weather, rendered even a wet day on the river enjoyable. The unavoidable absence of Mr. Massie, the Ecclesiastical Secretary, from ill health, was a subject of general regret.

A Supplemental Excursion was afterwards made, August 2, to the same localities, and a pleasant trip enjoyed by many Members and friends of the Society, who were unable to be present at the original gathering.

1855.

On Friday, January 19th, two remarkably intelligent and interesting lectures were delivered by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M.A., F.G.S. formerly Vice-Principal of King William's College, in the Isle of Man, but now Head Master of the Lichfield Grammar School. The meetings were held in the Assembly Room of the Savings' Bank, and were attended by a numerous audience.

The subject in the morning was "The History of the Northmen of the Isles;" and in the evening, "The Runic Monumental Remains in the Isle of Man." After a short introduction, Mr. Cumming observed that

There must have been something truly great and grand in the character of the nation which has left behind it in the Isle of Man such enduring memorials of itself. Strange it may seem, but it is nevertheless true, that after nearly six hundred years of connection with England, the form of government in the Island should be Scandinavian, and not British; and almost stranger still is it, that the "the last remains (as Professor Worsaae has noticed) of the old Scandinavian *Thing*, which for the protection of public liberty was held in the open air in the presence of the assembled people, should be met with, not in the North itself, but in the little Isle of Man, far in the West, and in the midst of the British kingdom." That race must have been great, too, and have exercised a mighty influence there, which could impress itself, as it were, upon the mountains, rocks, bays, towns, and villages of the Island. The names of pretty nearly all those which are not the original Celtic, are again Scandinavian, and not British. Take but a short survey, and we have in the Isle of Man, Port Soderic and Saltric, Ronaldsway, Dreswick, Sandwick, Perwick, Aldrick, and Fleshwick. We have Langness, the Calf, the Eye, Kitterland, the Mull, Brada, Grammr. We have Colby, Scolaby, and Grenaby, all certainly Scandinavian. Two or three names of places ending in *by* occur in the neighbourhood of Chester,—Helsby, West Kirkby, Pensby, Irby, &c. These are clearly Danish.

The lecturer then proceeded to bring down the history of the Northmen as connected with the Isle of Man, commencing with the period at which —the close of the 8th century—the Danish Vikings commenced ravaging Great Britain, and took possession of the Isle of Man, in the year 888, a Welsh line of kings having held it from the middle of the 7th century. The memorials of the two first Scandinavian kings were the House of Keys and Castle Rushen; of their followers—Rushen Abbey and Peel Castle. Barrows and Runic crosses, which were once very numerous, are still to be found. With reference to the barrows, the lecturer observed that when these barrows and stone circles have been examined, they have turned

out to be merely places of sepulture, and it seems strange people should continue to assign them as places of worship and sacrifice belonging to the Druids. He would not say that none of these mounds may be the burial ground of the ancient Celts or aborigines, at a time when Druidism prevailed here, but that they are undoubtedly places of heathen and not Christian *burial;* the entire absence of ornaments and weapons, of the stone or of the bronze period, in the barrows, as far as they have hitherto been examined, would lead to the belief that they can hardly be referred back to the period of the Druids, though probably some of the stone circles may, and the occurrence of square stone chests and cinerary urns in these barrows wherever they have been opened, indicate that the bodies buried did not belong to men who professed Christianity.

Mr. Cumming then gave a brief abstract of the history of Scandinavian Viceroys in Man down to the Scottish conquest in 1270, at the same time connecting their history with that of their brethren in the surrounding countries. Of the Runic Monuments or Crosses there are, in the Isle of Man, a fine collection of examples, some almost as entire as when they first came out of the graver's hands; others in a very fragmentary and dilapidated condition, yet bearing traces of rich ingenuity of device, and considerable artistic skill. There are at least thirty-four of these relics known to be connected with the Island, and there are eight other crosses, which are probably the work of the Northmen. The different ages and characters of these Runic monuments were detailed by the lecturer at some length;—the origin and introduction into Europe, from Asia Minor, of the Runic character, having first been described.

The language of the Manx inscriptions was Icelandic, or ancient Scandinavian. On examining closely these Runic monuments, we soon perceive that they are truly *sui generis;* they are not exact copies of others elsewhere existing, but the artists have followed their own rich, peculiar, and fantastic ideas in the execution of these designs. When we recur to the fact before mentioned, of the close connection, during the 11th century, between the Danes in Ireland and Man,—remembering that the same, or closely connected, kings reigned in Man and Dublin,—it is readily perceived that there may well be, as there undoubtedly is, a general resemblance between the Manx and Irish Crosses, which have the Runic pattern. The peculiar ornament called the Runic knot, which he would rather name cable-work—occurs on Saxon, Scotch, and Irish monuments, but the Manx Crosses approach nearest to the Scotch. He could not help tracing them all up to a Scandinavian or Danish origin. It is just such an adornment as would readily suggest itself to a seafaring people, and he would class them all under the head of Barbaric, and disconnect them entirely from the Byzantine. All the Manx Runic crosses appear to be simply obituary memorials, recording merely the fact that "A. B. erected this cross to C. D., his

father, mother, brother, sister," &c. &c., and in two or three cases adding the name of the engraver of the cross.

In the Vestry of Kirk Michael, Isle of Man, is the fragment of the upper portion of what must have been a very beautiful Runic Cross. It was formerly built in the Church-yard wall, whence it was stolen, but afterwards recovered by the parish officers. The devices on this fragment are somewhat remarkable. We have on one side the figure of our Blessed Lord with a glory on His head, and arms *extended* (the body not *depending* indicating that "*oblatus est quia ipse voluit.*" He is girt about the loins the legs and feet being nude. This is almost characteristic of the 10th and 11th centuries. In earlier examples the figure is more fully draped and generally, though not always, in later examples the body depends.

The pelletted ribbon is fastened with rings at the extremities of the arms and head of the cross. This is a peculiar mode of ornamenting the Manx Crosses, and occurs on all of Gaut's workmanship, of which this is most likely an example. A circle, or glory unites the arms of the cross, which is the case with nearly all the Manx examples. In the left hand corner we have the ornament of a cock, the symbol of repentance; in the right hand an angel, underneath, which is the *triquetra*, the symbol of the Trinity.

The opposite face of this fragment contains a rich arrangement of two pairs of interlacing pelletted ribbons, fastened with pelletted rings both at the centre and the extremities of the arms. A glory, as before, encircles the arms, and in the left hand upper corner we have a knot work of pelletted ribbon, which has much the appearance of one of the scale covered monsters on the Braddan Crosses, and the tall cross of Joalf, at Kirk Michael. On the right hand top corner is a kilted figure, apparently in the act of ascending towards a cloud overhead. The fragment of the inscription, which is along the edge, reads "Grims ins suarta," *i. e.* Grim the Black.

Many of the Crosses contain no inscription whatever; but their character is too closely allied to others which have inscriptions, to allow us to doubt that they present the true Scandinavian type. Whether the various figures frequently pourtrayed on them—weapons of war and musical instruments, animals of the chase and for domestic use,—indicated the trade or occupation of the person buried, or were merely intended as ornament, is a contested question. He was inclined to the latter view, from finding these figures occurring singly as terminal ornaments on the top of cable-work, or intermingled with it. In almost all of the Manx monuments the figure of the cross is surrounded by a circle of glory, or, at least, its place indicated by four holes. In two cases a cross itself forms the termination of a piece of cable-work. On the head of one cross also (at Kirk Conchan) occur the words "Jesu Christ," in Runes. In most cases the Runes are read from the bottom upwards, and in all but five



Inscription on upper edge of frame.

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FRAGMENT OF A RUNIC CROSS

ERECTED TO GRIMS THE BLACK

AT KIRK MICHAEL, ISLE OF MAN.

cases, as far as observed, the writing is on the edge of the stone. An inscription on a Cross at Kirk Michael, on the south side of the gate, enables us to point out with some degree of probability which were the earliest of these Runic monuments in the Isle of Man. On that cross it is stated that "Gaut made this (cross) and all in Man." "Gaut girthi thana auk ala i Maun." And on another at Kirk Andreas is written "Gautr Bjornson made this cross." "Gautr girthi sunr Biarnar." By comparing the style of these two crosses with some others we find great similarity, and may thus class them under one period. The cross with the harper, on the north side of the gate of Kirk Michael, from its workmanship and Runic character, belongs probably to a later date. The names contained in it are all Celtic, not Scandinavian, and the Runes are on the back, not on the side. The Cross at Kirk Andreas, erected by Sandulf the Swarthy to his wife Arinbjorg, seems to stand alone. But we may class together the dragon cross (Thurlaf Neaki's) in Braddan, and another, once in the church tower, but now removed, and placed alongside of the other dragon cross in the centre of the churchyard, with the large Kirk Michael (or Joalf's) Cross. There is a similarity in style again between the Braddan round cross, the Kirk Conchan dog cross, and cat cross, and one at Lonan of great size. The Thurith Cross at Conchan is evidently the work of a very ordinary country mason, who wrought without rule or plummet, and scrawled and spelt badly. This cross is, however, most interesting from its containing the name Jesu Christ.

The Cross, of which both sides are shewn on next page, is one of the most perfect remaining in the Isle of Man. It was probably the work of Gaut Bjornson. His normal idea of two pairs of ribbons interlacing and filling up the arms of the Cross, but fastened also with rings at their extremities, is here carried out on one face (the inscribed face); but instead of the central ring, which generally is found in his work, we have a boss surrounded by the ribbons, and the rings, four in number and pelleted, are carried along the shaft of the Cross, tying up the ribbons, which are split and pelleted, thus giving a great richness to the general appearance. On the other face the central ribbons, also ornamented, are deficient in rings, but surround a boss; whilst on one side of the shaft we have, terminated by a cross, an ornament of chain work, singularly beautiful, and not found on any Irish or Scotch Crosses. On the other side of the shaft is a modification of the T ornament, or guilloche, a great favourite with Gaut, and very effective.

It will be observed that one face of this Cross is deficient in the encircling glory, which would have interfered with the knot work, but it occurs on the other face. The inscription is in pretty fair preservation. It is in earlier Manx Runes. The first word is somewhat indistinct, but the reading seems to be—"Loulaibr : Thorjulb : sunr : raisti : crs : thona : aiftir : Ub : sun :

sin :" *i.e.*, " Lovleif, the son of Thorjolf, erected this cross to his son Ub," (or perhaps " Ulb," *i.e.*, Olaf).*

Upon a general review of these Runic remains, we can hardly but be struck with the evidence they afford that these Northmen, whose names we associate only with everything that is barbarous and bloody, were anything but an uncivilized and uncultivated people. There was in them a great deal of natural refinement, a taste for the beautiful in art, and an originality of design. They were poets and musicians too, as well as sculptors. On one of these monuments we have the representation of a man playing on a harp; and the poems of one of their number, who flourished shortly after these monuments were erected, (Snorro Sturlson), have come down to our own day, and abound with fine descriptive and heart-stirring passages. That they were legislators, as well as warriors, the persistency of much of their legal code in the island at the present day abundantly proves: and that they earnestly embraced Christianity, even when offered to them by a conquered people, is evidenced by the munificent gifts for religious purposes which were made from time to time by the Scandinavian kings in Man, as well as by the very numerous memorials which even the common people have left behind them, of their affectionate remembrance of their friends who died in the faith of Christ.

The lectures were profusely illustrated by a number of drawings, casts, and rubbings, from remarkable examples of antiquity; and as an exposition of an early and comparatively unknown period of British history, they were marked by a patient research, a clearness of statement, and a fulness of antiquarian lore, which excited the interest and largely contributed to the information of the meetings.

The evening lecture (which is now in the press, and will be shortly published by Mr. Cumming, illustrated with about 60 original plates,†) elicited some pertinent remarks from several gentlemen present. The Runic Crosses of the Isle of Man naturally enough suggested enquiries respecting the beautiful Crosses at Sandbach, in Cheshire, which, however, the lecturer considered to be of later date than those of the which he had been treating. It is to be hoped that some Member of our Society in the

* Since this lecture was delivered, Mr. Cumming has more closely examined the inscription on this Cross, and proposes the following amended reading:—"Thorlaibr: Thorjulb: sunr: raisti: crs: thona: aftir: Ulb: sun: sin:" *i.e.*, "Thorlaf, Thorjolf's son, erected this cross to his son Olave." There is apparently a small additional stroke in the first letter, which will convert the "l" into "th"; the "u" or "v" are so very like "r" that they may readily be mistaken; and there is a faint stroke between the "U" and "b" of the word Ub, which was probably intended for "l," and would make it Ulb or Ulv, *i.e.*, Olv or Olave, as Mr. Cumming conjectures in the text.

† Subscribers' names may be sent to Mr. Lomax, Bookseller, Lichfield.



1/6 the natural size.

(INSCRIPTION. LOVLAIF THE SON OF THORULF
ERECTED THIS CROSS TO HIS SON VB.)

RUNIC MONUMENT
IN THE CHURCHYARD OF KIRK MICHAEL
ISLE OF MAN.

Whitfield. 1857.

neighbourhood of Sandbach will give his attention to these Crosses, with the view to a Paper upon the subject at an early period.

At the close of the evening's proceedings, the Rev. Canon Blomfield expressed to Mr. Cumming the thanks of the Society for his very able and instructive addresses; and we trust that the anticipations of another similar visit from the learned lecturer will soon be realized.

The monthly meeting was held at the City Library, on Monday, March 5th, the Rev. J. Williams (Duke-street) in the chair.

Mr. T. Hughes read a paper "On the Inns and Taverns of Chester" in the olden time, confining himself at present to those on the north side of the city. He had been allowed access to the books of the Innkeepers' Company, containing special contributions to the Whitsun and other civic pageants once annually performed in the streets of the ancient city. Some of the entries read were most curious and interesting; but as the paper itself may possibly appear in the next volume of the *Journal*, we refrain from anticipatory extracts here.

Commencing from the Cross, Mr. Hughes then proceeded on his antiquarian tour of the Taverns in Northgate-street, and the streets adjoining. Where the City Library now stands was previously an ancient Tavern, called the "Three Crowns;" the origin of which sign was satisfactorily explained. The "Legs of Man," with its curious old kitchen, and open gallery, and the derivation of the sign from the ancient arms of the Isle of Man, next engaged attention. Then came the ecclesiastical sign of the "Cross Keys," on the confines of St. Werburgh's Abbey; and the "Cross Foxes," the crest, as the house itself was once the property, of the Williams Wynns, of Wynnstay. The "White Lion," a celebrated hotel in the old stage coach days, received its share of attention; as did also the "Saracen's Head," "Coach and Horses," &c., some tale or legend accompanying the description of each of these houses. The "Pied Bull," an ancient hostelry, was clearly traced to be the same with the "Bull tenement," named in the deed of 1533, from the Prioress of St. Mary's Nunnery; of which document a transcript is given at page 145 of our present Volume. The "Bull and Stirrup" was one of those signs which almost defied explanation, and might be ranked with "The Pig and Whistle," "Goat and Compasses," and "The Devil and Bag of Nails"—all well known, but ridiculously absurd corruptions. Most likely "The Bull and Stirrup" was a corruption of "The *Bowl* and *Stirrup*,"—the "stirrup cup," or "last glass," being a term still in use among the votaries of Bacchus. The house and brewery of Mr. Peter Eaton, our present Mayor, was formerly the principal hotel of Chester, "The Golden Falcon," and the scene of many anecdotes characteristic of the times related by Mr. Hughes. The old buildings he described were illustrated by several bold and able sketches from the pencil

of Mr. A. Sumners, a rising Chester artist. The lecturer proposed to continue what he was pleased to call "the *dry* portion of the subject" at some future time, with the Society's approval: this was put to the meeting by the Chairman, and unanimously carried, with thanks for the paper of the evening.

In reference to a natural allusion in the paper to the gradual increase in the number of public-houses, the Rev. W. H. Massie observed that we had only ourselves to blame for not supplying recreations of a less dangerous tendency in due place and season. He had noticed lately, at Boulogne, how the soldiers from the camp crowded to the free museums with the utmost order and interest; and it had struck him that this Society would be only carrying out its objects, by forwarding any movement in favour of such open exhibitions in our own locality: he felt sure, too, that any effort of the kind would be supported by the Members at their next general meeting. He had attended in order to give notice of his intention to propose this, as well as to support a Member who had kindly come forward to relieve the "worn out lecturers," and take some portion of burden from the Secretaries.

A very rich and talented design, by Messrs. Gibbs, from the military life of David, for the obituary window at St. Mary's Church, Chester, in honour of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, was exhibited by Mr. Massie; though a preference has generally been expressed for the subject, by another artist, of "Aaron and Hur holding up the hands of Moses," as expressing dependence on God in battle, and the duty of intercession for our armies in the field.

A lecture on "The History of Ornamental Art—Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern," was delivered before the Members on Tuesday evening, the 17th April, by Mr. Ellis A. Davidson, Head Master of the Government School of Art, in this city. The chair was taken by the Chancellor of the Diocese, the Rev. Canon Thurlow, and the room was crowded by an attentive audience.

Mr. Davidson introduced his subject by stating that Mr. Pugin had said that the history of architecture was the history of the world. If this was true, and he firmly believed it was, then the history of ornamental art assumed a more important position than appeared at first sight. Nor would this, on investigation, seem strange; even the people of the present day, who lived in an age of manufactures, of commerce, and of utilitarianism, were much more guided by ornament than they generally admitted; and they judged with some degree of precision of a person's tendency of mind and feeling, not only by the manner in which he furnished or embellished the interior or exterior of his house, but also by the ornaments or absence of them in his attire, as showy or sober, tawdry or tasteful; even the very

carpet on the floor of the room told its tale of the taste and habits of mind of the occupant. He defined "ornament," as the handmaid of architecture. The longing after the beautiful and the ornamental was and had been, he believed, to a great degree inherent in every mind; in all ages, and in every climate, had the members of the human family used some means of making that which was at first only useful become ornamental as well. The various circumstances of the great family of mankind, each individual thus feeling the same desire for the beautiful, each section having different means of gratifying that desire, working in different climates, and under various influences, led to many styles of ornamentation. Although it was impossible in one lecture to give anything like a complete description of each, he trusted to be able to illustrate the broad distinctions of the leading styles which had had any influence upon, or had been influenced by, the progress of European civilization. The whole number of styles might thus be comprised in nine ornamental developments,—three ancient, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman; three middle age, Byzantine, Saracenic, Gothic; and three modern, Renaissance, Cinque Cento, and Louis Quatorze.

The intelligent lecturer then pointed out and explained the leading characteristics of each of these styles, their varieties, similarities, and distinctions, by illustrations from the casts and polychromatic ornaments which were hung over the platform, by numerous drawings on the black board, and also by modelling in clay, which was done on the spot before the audience. As illustrations of English Gothic, Mr. Davidson presented an exceedingly fine pencil drawing executed by himself, containing a series of representations of the best types of that style existing in the country, arranged chronologically. It was intended for the exhibition of the Department of Science and Art, in London. His lecture was richly and copiously illustrated by reference to this drawing, and by specimens of ornaments in the various styles, most of which were engraved by students in London, but some of them were the work of Mr. Davidson's lady pupils in Chester. He went on to say that Nature showed us plainly what to do in the use and adaptation of ornament. The greater the weight, the thicker should be the stem that bore it; "the unwedgeable and gnarled oak," strong and massive where the thick branches required support from the parent trunk, tapered towards the end of each branch; and whilst its huge stem long resisted the mighty wind, and towered like a magnificent column amidst the storm, its upper twigs and tinier leaves bent beneath the weight of the smallest creature whose song enlivened the garden of Nature, or whose beautifully-tinted clothing blended so harmoniously with the foliage amongst which it luxuriated. After reviewing generally the whole subject, Mr. Davidson concluded by saying, they had seen that in all ages, and under all circumstances, men had striven to adorn and beautify not only their public buildings but also their homes, and they must hope

that the endeavour now being made to revive public taste in all classes of society, would at no distant time have the effect of increasing the love of the Arts and Sciences, ornamental and industrial; "and," said he, "as 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever,' may such joys be liberally spread, not only among the high, but also among the lowly of our land!"

The Rev. Chairman expressed the satisfaction he had felt at listening to the lecture, and proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Davidson, which was seconded by Mr. Sheriff Hicklin (who referred to the more salient and suggestive topics of the lecture,) and carried with applause.

Mr. Davidson acknowledged the compliment.

The Rev. W. H. Massie, Rector of St. Mary's, informed the audience where they might see, in Chester, ornaments on the public buildings which would illustrate several of the technical terms they had heard in the course of the evening. He proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Mr. Ayrton, after passing which the assembly separated.

Many of the audience advanced to the table to examine Mr. Davidson's and the other drawings, &c., closely. We also noticed a series of high-class line engravings, lying there for exhibition, being artists'proof copies of the pictures in the Royal Gallery. Engravings more exquisitely wrought, or more highly finished, it would be difficult to imagine, even in this improving age of ornamental art.

At a Council Meeting, assembled May 31st, to revise the accounts as passed by the Auditors, it appeared that the receipts up to this date, including a balance forward of £70 16s. 5d. amount to £169 12s. 8d.; and that the expenditure for the same period amounts to the sum of £133 12s. 11d., leaving a balance of £35 19s. 9d. in Messrs. Williams and Co.'s Bank.

At the Annual Meeting of the Members, duly convened at the City Library, at noon of the same day, the Rev. Canon Slade in the chair, the accounts, as passed by the Council, were formally confirmed. The following gentlemen were then appointed Officers for the ensuing year:—

COUNCIL.—Sir P. de M. G. Egerton, Bart., Dr. Ll. Jones, Dr. McEwen, Messrs. F. Potts, W. Beamont, J. Morris, T. Hughes, and C. Barnard; Revs. W. B. Marsden, D. Broughton, R. Temple, J. Watson, J. Folliott, and T. France; and Messrs. E. Hodkinson and T. R. P. Royle, Architectural Members, *ex-officio*. Other officers as before.

The Annual Excursion of this Society, on the 18th July, was one of the most interesting holidays which the Association has enjoyed. The party left Chester by the 9 15 a.m. train for the Hope Station, where carriages were in attendance for their conveyance to the various places denoted in the programme.

St. John's Church, at Pen-y-mynydd, in the parish of Hawarden, was first visited. It is a modern building, in the early English style of architecture, consisting of a nave and chancel, the principal entrance being at the west end, under a tower which is surmounted by a pretty spire ("like Wisdom's finger pointing up to heaven"); and is a very good example of a village church. It was consecrated in the summer of 1843. The interior is most beautifully decorated in a really magnificent style of ecclesiastical adornment, illustrative of the instructive symbolism of Christian art; all the windows are of stained glass, representing successively some affecting incident in our Saviour's Passion, and the triumph of His glorious Resurrection; under each an appropriate text from Scripture is inscribed, and all the explanatory details are carried out with remarkable taste and intelligent reverence. The very walls are made the vehicles of instruction, and the recipients of highly elaborate decoration; the prayer desk and pulpit are embellished with significant designs; while over the chancel arch is a sublime representation of the Last Judgment. The whole of these splendid ornaments, including the painted windows and beautiful walls, are the amateur work of the resident minister, the Rev. J. Ellis Troughton, who received the party at the Church, and explained the full meaning of every artistic illustration with a clearness and earnestness which reminded us of Bunyan's "Interpreter" in the good man's house.

Leaving this elegant little Church,—which is unquestionably in its interior decorations, one of the most beautiful examples of ecclesiastical adornment which the country contains, and, as the work of an amateur, entirely unique,—the party drove towards Hope, within a mile of which the excursionists alighted from their carriages, and walked through the fields to explore the remains of that remarkable work of antiquity called "Offa's Dyke." The path which was taken overlooks the lovely Vale of Hope, its Church, about half a mile off, the hill called Caer Estyn (the extended camp) on the left, Brynyorkin mountain on the right, and the ruins of Caergwrle Castle on a rocky eminence in the centre, forming a beautifully romantic picture. In walking through the fields they traversed one of the great dykes formed in the 8th century as a line of demarcation between the kingdom of Mercia and the Welsh, who (in Harold's time) forfeited their right hand if they dared to cross it. One of these great divisions was dug by Offa, the Saxon king, with a high embankment and broad ditch, and appears at broken intervals from the River Wye, in South Wales, nearly up to Mold. The other, called "Watts' Dyke," is first seen in Oswestry parish, and ends below Basingwerk, running parallel with the former until it also approaches the valley of Mold. But, as the Vicar and others stated that a farm on the edge of "*Watts*' Dyke," a little beyond Hope, is still called "Clawdd Offa," or Offa's Ditch, it was thought probable that the

two had combined for the same end about that point, and so pursued one single course to the estuary of the Dee.

Following this ridge (portions of which are here very plainly marked) they soon reached Hope Church, which has recently been much improved by the substitution of Gothic for *Hanoverian* windows, and by the removal of a plaster ceiling, so as to expose an oak roof of good and simple pattern in the aisles. It is, however, poor encouragement to the Vicar, who has paid for several improvements, and to those who would contribute money and effort for the adornment of Churches, to find the fabric left by the parishioners (or by the authorities who should enforce the rates when granted) to fall to decay, the internal arches and pillars dripping with wet and covered with unwholesome vegetation. Our noble fathers raised these temples at vast cost, and bequeathed them to posterity only on condition of their maintenance. The violation of so sacred a trust must lie at the door of some who ought to be ashamed, if not to tremble. In the east window are considerable fragments of a fine subject for stained glass, viz. the "Te Deum;" the angels of "Tibi Cherubim and Seraphim" remain tolerably distinct. There is also a singular little window at the west end of the north aisle, of rather uncommon form, and perhaps older than any other in the Church.

The Rev. Vaughan Lloyd, Vicar of Hope, met the party at the Church for the purpose of explanation, and kindly invited them to gather fruit in the very pretty garden of the comfortable Parsonage. He afterwards accompanied the visitors to Caergwrle Castle.

The ruins of this ancient fortress crown the summit of a rocky steep, which commands a vast and magnificent prospect of surpassing loveliness; and the day being beautifully fine, the glorious landscape was seen to the greatest advantage. After the first raptures of delight which this natural panorama excited had subsided, the excursionists betook themselves to a critical examination of the ruins, and the historic records with which they are associated. Pennant, writing of Caergwrle in A.D. 1773, says:—

"The form of the village speaks it to have been a Roman station, which appears very evident to the antiquarian eye, from the summit of the adjacent Rock, the site of the Castle. In Camden's time (1636) a hypocaust was discovered near the place five ells long, four broad, and half an ell high, cut out of the live rock. The floor was of brick, set in mortar; the roof supported by brick pillars, and consisted of polished tiles perforated; on these were laid certain brick tubes, which conveyed the heat to the room above. On some of those tiles were inscribed the letters LEGIO XX., which point out the founders.

"Mr. Edwards makes a happy conjecture respecting the etymology of the name of this place. Caer Gawr Lle, or the Camp of the Giant Legion. Lleon Gawr; for the Britons bestowed that title on the twentieth legion, to imply its power; a turn analogous to Victrix, giving it the strength of a giant.

"The Castle of Caergwrle stood on the summit of a great rock, precipitous on one side, and of steep ascent on the others. Some of the walls and part of a round tower still remain, sufficient to shew that its size was never great. Close to it, on the accessible parts, it was protected by very deep fosses cut through the rock. On the north-east side, there is a pretty extensive area; and round its verge the vestiges of a rampart of earth and stones, and a fosse, such as is usual in the British posts; it may be therefore supposed, that it had been possessed by the Britons in early times; and that it served to defend, in conjunction with Caer Estyn, (a British post of one rampart and ditch, on the opposite side of the dale above the village,) the entrance through this pass into Wales. The vale almost closes in this place, leaving only room enough for the Alun to flow through the picturesque dingles, till it gains the open country near the Church of Gresford. In the reign of Owen Gwynedd I find it part of the estates of Gryffydd Maelor.

"David, brother to Llewellyn, last Prince of Wales, held it from Edward I. David made great complaints of the injurious treatment he met with from Roger de Clifford, the Justiciary of Chester, who cut down his woods about Hope, and endeavoured to dispossess him of his rights. When David took up arms in defence of his brother, he left a garrison in this Castle; but in June, 1282, it surrendered to the English monarch. As soon as it came into his possession he bestowed it, with all its appurtenances, on his beloved consort Eleanor; from which it acquired the name of Queen Hope. The Queen lodged here on her way to Caernarvon, where her husband sent her to give the Welsh a ruler born among them. Either at this time, or soon after, the Castle was burnt by a casual fire."

Considerable amusement was occasioned by an announcement from Mr. Hicklin that he had been favoured with a note from Mr. Williams, of the Old Bank, at Chester, disputing the "happy conjecture" adopted by Pennant as to the etymology of Caergwrle, which he read as follows:—

My Dear Sir,—I am sorry that I have no prospect of being able to attend you on the 18th to Caergwrle.

The derivation of its name has long been a hobby with me, and Saxon though you be, I must trouble you with it. All the world knows that *Caer* is a fortification, *Gwr* means a man, perhaps a brave man, and *lle* or *le* a *place*. Hence the ordinary meaning assigned to this name—a Castle, the place of men. I dissent from this, and you shall judge for yourself whether I am right when you ascend the hill, and see it covered in a remarkable manner with a plant which I do not know in dry ground anywhere else. It is the *bog myrtle*, called in Welsh, Gwrli. My theory is, that before the Castle was built the hill was Bryn Gwrli, and afterwards Caer Gwrli.

Dyn has nearly the same meaning with Gwr, and a learned antiquary told me the other day that Caer-dyn (Carden) is twin brother to Caergwrle. I have not yet examined the locality, but when I do I shall try hard to find a plant whose name shall form the second syllable, as in Caer Gwrli. This you will admit is the true spirit of carrying out a theory.

Very sincerely yours, J. WILLIAMS.

The ingenious suggestion of Mr. Williams, like all other innovations upon a long received mode of interpretation, was rejected by several of the

party, and especially those of strong Welsh predilections; while others argued that there was "something in it," and produced a gathering of the plant referred to, which antiquarian ladies, however, of botanical knowledge declared to be, *not* the bog myrtle, but "bilberry!" and so the discussion was adjourned for further elucidation. (Bilberry is a species of myrtle.)

From Caergwrle the route was by the turnpike road to Mold, the beautiful Church of that town being the chief point of attraction. The style of the building is late Tudor, which has many advantages in the way of congregational convenience, light, and ornament. The surface of the walls has been elaborately carved with quatrefoils and panellings in the stone. The north aisle has a rich oak roof in Tudor character, highly floriated, though not massive, which we understood was to be imitated in the roof of the central nave, under the eye of Mr. Scott, the eminent architect, of London. The tower is a modern but solid structure of white stone. The Rev. Jenkin Davies, Vicar of Mold, received the party at the Church.

From the summit of the "Bailey Hill," (where stood the old Norman Castle, wall within wall, but of which not a trace remains,) a view was taken of the battle field, where the "Alleluiah Victory" is reported to have been gained in the 5th century over the savage Picts by the Welsh Christians, as described by the venerable Bede, quoting from Constantius, a cotemporary Latin historian. A vast number of bodies were found interred on the central tumulus of the Bailey Hill a few years ago; but without some distinguishing token it would be impossible to assign their date, as they may have been only the bones of those who fell when the garrison was put to the sword and the Castle destroyed; or it may have been a British barrow of the usual character, previous to the erection of the Norman Keep, which could only be decided by the nature of the relics found with them.

Many curious and ghostly tales are related of the discovery of a breast-plate of golden mail in one of the fields to the east of Mold, a great portion of which is deposited in the British Museum; but those interesting facts have already received special treatment in our present Volume. The view from the mound is exceedingly picturesque; the circumjacent vale stretches below in all the verdure of fertility; and the mountains form a finely developed back-ground to the landscape. On leaving Bailey Hill, the excursionists were kindly conducted by the Rev. Jenkin Davies to the pretty garden of the Vicarage, whence there is a charming view of the adjacent country.

From Mold the route was to Hawarden, where the party were received at the Parish Church by the Rev. Waldegrave Brewster, Curate, in the unavoidable absence of the Rector. Improvements have recently been made in the chancel of Hawarden Church, under the direction of Mr. James Harrison, of Chester, by the substitution of open stalls in solid oak.

for the wretched boxes which before blocked up the way, and which still sadly impede the services in the nave, to the hindrance of congregational feeling at the daily worship in the Church. Several windows have also been restored and filled with stained glass; but the extensive and costly repairs which were made about a century ago, and since, have obliterated almost every internal trace of what the Church was in the time of the Stanleys, who so long held Hawarden and other strongholds along the confines between Cheshire and North Wales, when the original Norman barons of Montalt had passed away. There are still, however, in the external mouldings of the Church, traces of an early decorated period.

On leaving the Church, a delightful stroll through the beautiful gardens of the Rectory was enjoyed. From thence the visitors walked through the sylvan glades of Hawarden Park to the selected spot for dinner, where a spacious tent was pitched on the lawn of the pleasure grounds, under the grateful shadows of the "tall ancestral trees" which adorn that noble domain. Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart. (like his Reverend brother, the Rector) was prevented from receiving the party by engagements which required his prolonged absence from Hawarden; but he had kindly given every facility for their enjoyment, and had placed the Castle, the Park, and the Gardens at the disposal of the Society for the day. An excellent collation was served up in the tent under the personal direction of Mr. Bolland, of Chester; and about 50 ladies and gentlemen sat down to the repast, which included a fine present of melons and strawberries from Sir S. R. Glynne.

After dinner, the picturesque remains of the ancient Castle were examined with much interest; and from the lofty summit of its broken towers the party enjoyed the remarkably fine and extensive prospect which it commands —comprehending a wide sweep of country, from the majestic mountains of Flintshire and Denbighshire, the Vale Royal of Cheshire, the bold rock of Beeston Castle, Peckforton Castle and Hills, Frodsham Cliffs, and the venerable City of Chester, round to the estuaries of the Mersey and the Dee, stretching far into ocean's "dim immensity." The various historic incidents of which the Castle has been the scene, were related and discussed, and the more remarkable features of the hoary ruins noticed. Dating from a period soon after the Norman Conquest, this feudal fortress has passed through the various vicissitudes and fortunes of war, sometimes defaced and at others restored, till the time of the Commonwealth; when, after sustaining several sieges, and being alternately in the hands of the Royalists and the Rebels, it was finally dismantled by order of Parliament in 1645. The modern Castle of Hawarden, the seat of Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart. Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire, is a stately structure, erected by Sir John Glynne in 1752. In 1809 it received some important additions, and then assumed its present form of a castellated edifice, with antique-looking windows and turrets. The spacious and handsome apartments of the

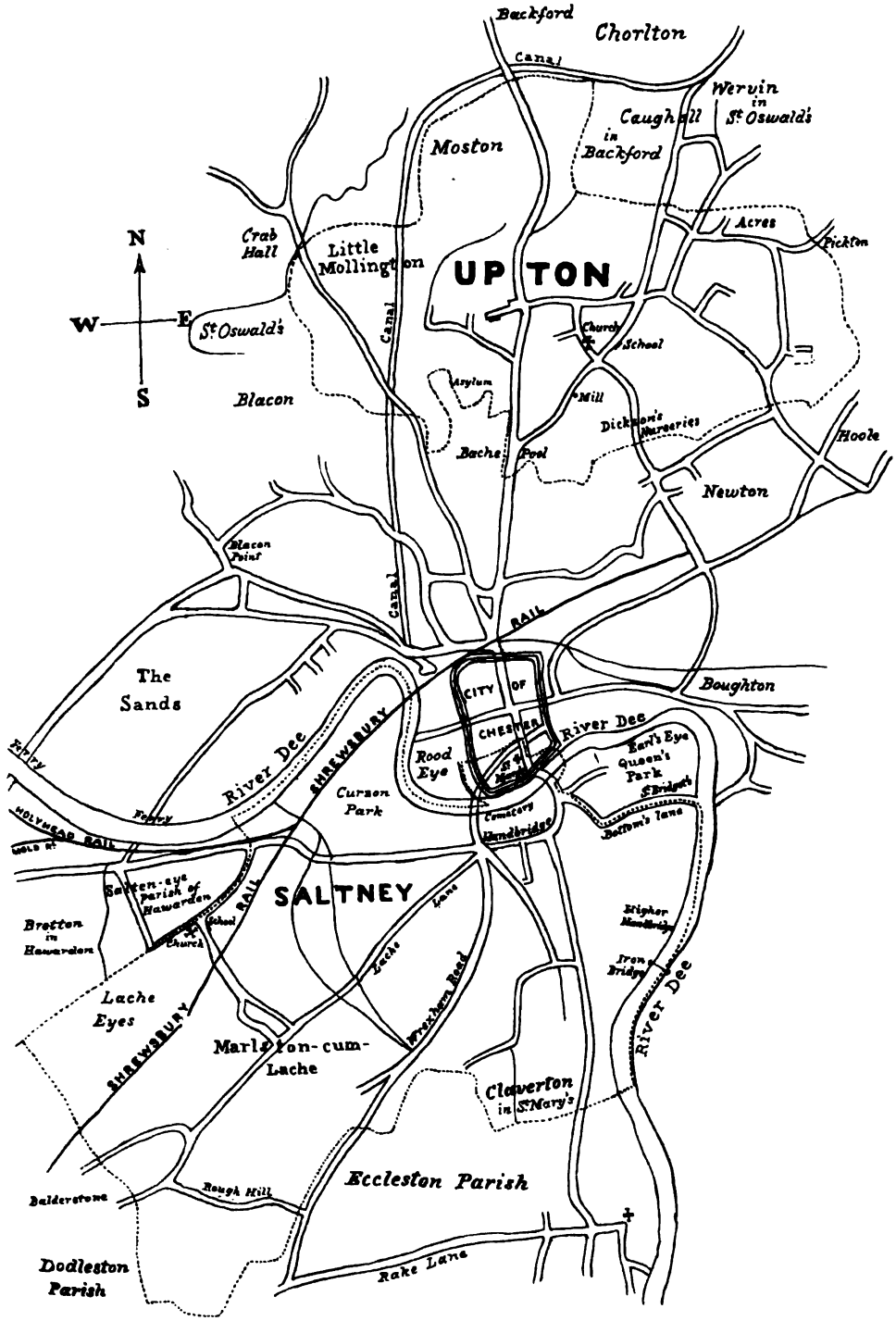
mansion were thrown open to the visitors; and the many pictures and other objects of interest which they contain, were examined with admiration. Pleasant rambles, during the cool of the evening, in the charming gardens or the calm solitudes of the verdant glades and woodland glens, closed the day's proceedings; and about half-past seven o'clock the excursionists drove through the Park to Chester, where they separated for their homes with warm expressions of delight and mutual congratulations.

The First Meeting for the Session of 1855-6, was held on Monday evening, Nov. 5, in the City Library, the Rev. Canon Hillyard in the chair.

A lecture "On the Ancient History of St. Mary's Parish, Chester," with more particular reference to Roman remains discovered therein, was delivered by the late Rev. W. H. Massie, Rector of the parish, who traced, in a most lucid and graphic style of extemporaneous address, the vestiges of those once mighty masters of the world in this city. It was the desire of the Council, as well as, we may add, the declared intention of Mr. Masssie himself, to have printed in this *Journal* a lengthened digest, from his own able pen, of this truly interesting archæological discourse. But, alas! while so many ardent friends and admirers listened to his animated address on that evening with wrapt attention and delight, and hailed with acclamation his promise to continue that address at no very distant a period,—the days of the talented lecturer himself were already numbered; and a brief abstract, written chiefly from memory, is therefore all we are now enabled to give of, perhaps, the most practically instructive and valuable lecture ever delivered before the Society.

Mr. Massie commenced by expressing his great regret that so few gentlemen of the city and neighbourhood devoted their intervals of leisure to antiquarian pursuits, especially when it might be done without any interference with more important studies. He instanced his own case as one in point, having picked up his information in his daily walks, along the street or by the wayside; undesignedly, even when a boy, gathering and storing up in his memory facts and occurrences which twenty or thirty years afterwards came back to his recollection with all the freshness and force of recent events. His clerical brethren had especial opportunities for cultivating this intellectual taste in their respective parishes; knowing, as they might do, all the "ins and outs" of their particular districts, gaining access to all classes of persons, and to historical records which were closed to the great mass of ordinary students.

He would now give them, as an example of what might be done by individual exertion, the results of his personal investigations into the primeval history of his own parish, St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, in which, to use his own words, he "always felt himself at home." Taking the remains of the old Cross on the Roodeye as the starting point, the original boundary



MAP OF SAINT MARY'S PARISH,
UPTON North of Chester, and MARLSTON-CUM-LACHE South.

H. J. Bellars Nth.

of St. Mary's parish, he said, stretched across to the City Walls at that particular spot where a break, or rather declension in the fortifications was so distinctly visible. Thence it went, in almost a direct line, through Cuppin Street to the east end of the White Bear yard, down the middle of Lower Bridge Street, along the left side of Duke Street to the City Walls at the Wishing Steps. The boundary line then crossed the River Dee by the Causeway, taking in the Salmon Cage and part of the Snuff Mills; back again and over the Bridge into Handbridge; then by the side of "The Rock," along the Bottoms Lane, behind Queen's Park (the latter being in St. Bridget's parish) to the banks of the Dee at Boughton Fords. Here it took the centre of that river to the extremity of Claverton, and thence by a circuitous south-westerly route past Eccleston to near the Belgrave Lodge. Leaving Dodleston and Balderton on the left hand, it formed an angle at the Lache Eyes; whence it proceeded, in nearly a straight line, past Saltney Church to the River Dee: following the course of that stream until opposite the Cemetery, it then finally struck away to its starting point, the Roodeye Cross.

Setting aside altogether the traditionary statements of ancient historians, Mr. Massie maintained that Chester was essentially a Roman, not a British foundation. This position, as he considered, was established by the fact that British remains were never by any chance discovered within the walls of the city; while inscribed tiles, fragments of pottery, instruments of military and domestic use, coins, &c., all palpably Roman, were continually turned up in the progress of excavations.

The form of the city was undoubtedly Roman, the four main streets intersecting each other at right angles. The principle of straight roads, so universally adopted by the Romans, was not departed from by the founders of Chester. At first sight, this assertion might seem to be a gratuitous one, but it was nevertheless strictly true. Bridge Street, from below St. Michael's Church to the Cross, was part of the old Roman road; and it originally passed northward, in an undeviating straight line, through the space now occupied by St. Peter's Church and Shoemakers' Row, and thence behind the Exchange and Markets, until it fell into Northgate Street, not far from the present Northgate. Whatever may have been the reason, there could be no doubt that the present course of Northgate Street was a complete diversion from the original plan of the Roman city.

Returning from the Cross, and still keeping the line, we should come in contact with the houses on the west side of Lower Bridge-street; passing through which, we should find ourselves opposite to where the old Shipgate stood until April, 1831. This Gateway* was *undoubtedly* Roman; and was no doubt the chief means of egress from the city upon the south side.

* Its exact site is still indicated by a blank archway, purposely left by the late Mr. Harrison, the architect, in the masonry, when the gateway was filled up.

Thence went a ford across the Dee to the Handbridge side of the river, close to the projecting rock, called Edgar's Cave.* It was clear that the level of the ground had here been reduced by cutting through the rock. To the present day there remained, at this spot, a record alike of the genius and idolatry of that mighty people. On the side of the rock so excavated, the Roman craftsmen had sculptured a figure of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, and her symbol the owl; and these figures were still discernible, although 1800 years had rolled away since they were first graven on the enduring rock! From this spot the road ran, still in a straight line into the Eccleston Lane, which latter, for a considerable distance, maintained its original Roman course. In proof of this, if any person had chanced to be walking towards Chester after dark, as he had often done from Eccleston, they would see, right before them, the lights on each side of the higher end of Bridge-street, with the illuminated clock of St. Peter's in the centre. *There*, then, was the straight Roman road in its integrity, as laid down by the industrious 20th Legion; and on almost every yard of its entire length Roman remains had, from time to time, been discovered in great quantities.

It was on the direct line of this road, viz.: at the Saracen's Head tavern, behind the Exchange, that the Roman Altar with the Æsculapian inscription was so recently discovered. Along the Roman portion of Eccleston Road, in his own parish, St. Mary's, almost numberless relics of that people had only lately been dug up. Mr. Massie exhibited to the meeting at least a score of specimens all found in that locality. Amongst these, the figure of a lion finely sculptured in stone, the massive capital of a column,† several curious urns, fifteen or sixteen Roman coins, from Vespasian to Constantine I., and the fragment of a monumental stone, deserve especial notice here. In reference to the last named, Mr. Massie remarked that, from the number of urns and funeral relics found almost solely in this neighbourhood, it was clear that Handbridge was the chief Cemetery of the Roman colonists so long settled at Chester.

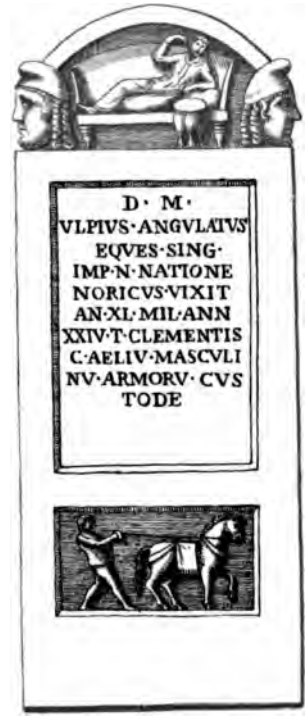
The monumental fragment dug up in Handbridge was more interesting from the circumstance of its strong resemblance to a very perfect tombstone at Rome, of which an engraving and description was given in the "*Memorie Sepolcrali.*" Mr. Massie produced a large drawing of the latter monument, now in the Tivoli museum, by which he endeavoured to explain the details of the one found at Chester. Lucius Ulpius Angulatus, to whose memory the gravestone at Rome was erected, according to the inscription "was born at Noricum, lived to the age of forty, during twenty-four years of which he served as a soldier, in the capacity of an *eques singularis* (puissant knight)."

* Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, 4th Edition, Vol. i., pp. 117-118.

† Noticed more at length at page 199 of the present volume.



PART OF THE TOMB-STONE OF A ROMAN KNIGHT, CHESTER.



TOMB-STONE OF A ROMAN KNIGHT, ROME.

[From "Memorie Sepolcrali."]

M.J. Bellars lith.

Over the inscription was an arch (in the Chester example it partook more of an angular form), on each side of which appeared a head in full relief, wearing the hair in broad ringlets, and covered with the peculiar Phrygian bonnet or cap. The deceased knight was shewn as reclining on a couch, his left arm resting on a pillow, and the right arm slightly raised above the head. In front of the couch was a tripod, having probable reference to the libations at the Parentalia, or sacrifices performed at the sepulchre by the parents of the deceased, with the view of conciliating the infernal gods. The inference Mr. Massie drew from all this was, that the Handbridge fragment was, in its perfect state, the obituary record of an *eques singularis*, or matchless knight of imperial Rome,—that he was attached in some high military capacity, to the glorious 20th Legion, so long settled at Chester, and was, in his day, a man of no little consideration in our venerable city.

Reverting to the boundary of St. Mary's parish, Mr. Massie observed that the Roodeye Cross, which was alike the limitation, at that point, of Trinity parish and his own, and which had been removed from its position to accommodate the Cheshire Cavalry, had, after lying for some years almost forgotten beneath the Walls, been restored, at his instigation, to its ancient site. Between the Watergate and the spot where his parish boundary intersected the Walls, it seemed clear to him that the original plans of the Roman masons had been in later years departed from; for it would appear from the massive foundations, which were, to his mind, unequivocably Roman, that the present Walls had been built up some yards within the old gate walls, and farther to the east than they stood in the first instance. He believed, too, that the Roman Walls went in reality no further southward than that spot; but that they took thence a direction due east to near the Wishing Steps, leaving the Castle and St. Mary's Hill *outside* the Walls. This would account, to a great extent, for the present inequality in the plan of the Walls; and insomuch as old chroniclers asserted that Ethelfleda, the Mercian princess, had enlarged the Walls upon the south side by taking in the Castle, he was the more convinced that his position was a sound one.

He believed it was a fact, and one worth noting in such a lecture as he was delivering, that the boundaries of St. Mary's parish, within the Walls, took, almost without exception, the course of original Roman roads. Recent excavations for improving the sewerage of the city had proved the existence of a continuous road, some ten or twelve feet below the present surface, cut down into the rock, wide enough for two men to walk abreast, and with apertures at intervals to prevent loiterers from needlessly obstructing the passage.* This road had, during the operations Mr. Massie referred to, been frequently come in contact with; and he had himself been present, more

* A circumstantial account of these peculiar excavations appears in the *Journal of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. i. pp. 79-83.

than once, when Roman remains of great interest had been dug up in this passage by the labourers employed. He exhibited to the meeting a small earthenware vessel, of decidedly Roman manufacture, which he had seen exhumed on one of those occasions. This underground road followed to some extent the boundary line of his own parish; but it was noticed also in Pepper-street, which was no doubt an original Roman way. Its name, he conceived, was a corruption of *Pebble-street*, so called from having been paved with smaller stones than those used in the principal highways. It was a curious fact that a *Pepper-street* was found in conjunction with almost every Roman road in Britain. The Causeway across the Dee, in St. Mary's parish, was also, in the first instance, the work of the Romans.

The representation in stone of a Roman citizen, found in White Friars, and described at page 431 of our present volume, afforded the lecturer an opportunity for referring to a military figure, also in stone, which stood between the arches of the old Roman Eastgate. It was, he said, the custom of Roman soldiers to wear the sword upon the right side; but the artist who had preserved to us a drawing of that gate, had taken the unwarrantable liberty of correcting what he thought to be a blunder of the ancient sculptor, and had placed the sword of the warrior upon his left side, in accordance with the usage of the present day. In proof of his statement as to the right position of the sword, Mr. Massie had obtained a large tracing paper rubbing of a similar piece of sculpture from another locality; but some amusement was caused on turning to examine the tracing, which, from being accidentally hung up the reverse side of the paper, seemed rather to refute than to confirm his observations.

The usual hour for separating having now arrived, Mr. Massie was obliged to bring his remarks to a close, promising, however, amid the applause of all present, to continue the subject at the monthly meeting in December. The lecture was illustrated by an extensive series of drawings, and a rich collection of antiquarian remains lately discovered within St. Mary's parish, and the adjoining district. The Rev. Canon Hillyard expressed, from the chair, the delight with which he, in common with those around him, had listened to the able discourse of that evening; and it was evident that all looked pleasurably forward to a renewal of the subject at the next monthly meeting. Ere that time arrived, however, the voice that so often had charmed them was dumb,—that form, once so active, was stretched on the bed of death; and the Society he had founded sustained, in his premature decease, a loss it will be difficult indeed to supply.

We have thus brought down the Abstract of Proceedings to the end of 1855. Our next Volume, which is in course of preparation, will appear in due season, and will see us clear through the Sessions of 1856-7.

APPENDIX.

STREET ARCHITECTURE IN CHESTER.

(PAGES 4, 12, 25, 26.)

THE remarks of our worthy Treasurer, Mr. Williams, and of the late Historian to the Society, the Rev. Chancellor Raikes, on this important subject, are well worthy the attention of our city architects and builders, and especially of those owners of property within the Walls, who contemplate either altering or rebuilding their respective premises. A hundred years ago, there was scarcely a city in England which could vie with Chester in the picturesque beauty of its streets and rows.* The citizens of those days were proud of the distinctive character of their ancient city; and while studious to improve the social comforts of their dwellings, were unwilling to destroy those quaint old features so long associated with the very name of Chester. To the eye of the stranger, too, in those bygone days, as he passed along its streets on the two-horse coach or "flying machine," the black and white fronts, the half opened lattice, the overhanging gables of the noble timber houses then adorning the chief thoroughfares, must have furnished material for thought and conversation during many a long and tedious journey. But how different is it now! Instead of the rich and lively *façades*, the curiously carved fantastical gables, which distinguished the brief but gay rule of the Stuarts, the eye sees nothing but miserable brick, and incongruous piles of heavy Athenian architecture! Exceptions there are, it is true,—precious springs in the weary desert,—and refreshing it is to turn to them. A few houses yet exist here and there about the city, little picturesque bits for the artist's pencil; and a few, yet far *too few*, restorations of later years have sprung up, as indicative of the dawn of a more appropriate taste. But we earnestly warn our fellow-citizens, that if Chester is to maintain its far-famed celebrity as one of the "wonder cities" of England,—if the great European and Transatlantic continents are still to contribute their shoals of annual visitors to fill our hotels, and the not too plenteous coffers of our tradesmen, one course only is open to us. We *must* maintain our ancient landmarks, we must preserve inviolate our city's rare attractions,—our quaint old

* See illustration opposite page 109 of our present volume.

Rows, unique and picturesque as they certainly still are, must not be idly sacrificed at Mammon's reckless shrine!

It is a fact well known that, during the summer months, while the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood are deep in the frivolities of London life, or basking in the sun at our fashionable watering-places, the trade of Chester would of necessity "fail for lack of moisture," were it not for the number of strangers, drawn by curiosity from all parts of the world to see this city of the past. It behoves us all therefore, as best we may, jealously to watch over its precarious renown, by arresting, where possible, not only the devastating hand of time, but also the frequently less cautious, and so infinitely more dangerous fingers of the arch spoiler, Man! Remember, too, that every old house preserved or judiciously restored, every new one erected after the same distinguishing type, will tend to raise the importance and perpetuate the fair fame of our venerable city!

KINDERTON, THE SUPPOSED CONDATE OF THE ROMAN ITINERARIES.

(PAGE 49, LINE 6.)

The Venerable Archdeacon Wood, whose Paper on this subject appears at length in an early part of the present volume, writing to the late Rev. W. H. Massie, August 4, 1854, communicates the following additional observations:—

"While digging the foundations for Gas Works in Kinderton, near the Roman Camp, and on the edge of the little river Croco,—close to the spot where two salt-pans made of lead, supposed to be Roman, were found by some boys while bathing, many years ago,—the workmen have come upon Brine Springs at about 12 or 15 feet below the surface. It is all made ground, composed of much brick rubbish, bone fragments, horses' teeth, &c. I have no doubt but that, when the little stream flowed in its natural course, it must have been below the level of these springs, which would then issue from the side of the bank.

"The brine seems to have been puddled out by laying basket work made of hazel rods, and then puddling upon them. Much timber has been used: they find oak quite sound, and in some places sawn and morticed; also birch timber, used in the round and morticed, the wood quite decayed, but the bark perfect:—of this I send you a specimen. I have no doubt of this having been the site of a Roman salt-work. There can be no question respecting the Roman origin of the bricks and fragments of pottery, which I send as specimens, and which are dug up in quantities. I do not expect much more, as they have reached the depth to which they are to go.

"A pavement has been found crossing the old bed of the brook, nearly opposite. I was not in time to see it, but from what I hear, I do not think it was Roman,—probably another instance of a Salters' ford."

The following additional particulars concerning the discovery of the brine pit at Kinderton are from the pen of B. Ll. Vawdrey, Esq., and will be perused with interest :—

"At the S.W. corner of the Mill Field in Kinderton, near the Mill Garden, adjoining the River Croco, on excavating for the Gasometer in July 1854, at the depth of 13ft. from the surface, an old Brine Well was discovered. There were oak and birch timbers laid equidistant across each other over where the brine issued, and extending over the entire space of the excavation (30 feet diameter). The timbers were higher (nearer the surface) on the east side, and on this side, underneath the timber, was solid marl ; but from a sand vein or fault, the brine here issued, as well as at the opposite side, where it was more copious, and where from the appearance of the earth the well had been. This part was piled, to build the side of the meter on, and the piles were driven from three to four feet through mud and puddle, and then into a hard body,—no doubt marl. From the sand thrown up here, the brine doubtless issued from a fault similar to that on the opposite side. The oak was sound, quite black, and mostly in logs, but some of it plank. The birch came out entire, and with the silvery bark on quite fresh, but the wood itself was like a carrot.

"Quantities of Roman bricks, chiefly in pieces, were thrown out in excavating ; also part of a quern, and fragments of Roman pottery. The bricks had evidently been formed by hand (not moulded), being, though mostly of the same description, none of exactly the same size, yet all tapering. They varied from 15 inches long by 4 at the thick end to a cube of 1½ inches. The part of the quern and several of the bricks are in Mr. Vawdrey's possession.

"Near the site of the fosse, about 500 yards lower down the Croco, beside the "Baron's" salt works, a lead bowl, thirteen inches diameter, three inches deep, and the lead a quarter of an inch thick, was found a few years ago, and is in the possession of the Rev. D. Vawdrey, Darley Rectory."

Upon this Archdeacon Wood farther observes :—

"My impression is, that the timber work was an inclined plane of no great steepness, upon which the brine was carried by hand from the well to the Works, somewhere on the bank above. The thirteen feet of earth dug through was probably thrown out of the present brook, when a new course was cut for it at the time of making the Trent and Mersey Canal."

THE ANCIENT COURSE OF THE MERSEY.

(PAGE 75, *note.*)

The late Rev. W. H. Massie having, in his second paper "On the Wooden Bridge found at Birkenhead," quoted a passage from Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Vol. II. p. 210, in support of his theory as to the

original course of the River Mersey, Dr. Ormerod has favoured the editors with the following observations:—

"The Author of the *History of Cheshire* has subsequently collected much on the subject of Ptolemy's statement with respect to the SETEIA PORTUS, and the possibly combined efflux of the Dee and the Mersey, and takes this opportunity of remarking on one of the facts mentioned in the Introduction prefixed to his account of Wirrall Hundred.

"The position of the sea-shells found at Backford, which formed, in part, the basis of the opinion, was (as the writer believes) the *first* mention of this Cheshire deposit; but similar ones have been subsequently described by Sir Philip Egerton as existing at Willington and Norley, and others have been found elsewhere in Cheshire, at corresponding altitudes above the *present* sea. All the several facts, stated in this Introduction, will (as the author apprehends) be found correct; but later considerations induce him to vary his former deduction, to a certain extent.

"When this deduction was drawn, the Ordnance Maps were unpublished, —there were no authorized general references for Cheshire elevations,— and, *above all*, Geology had not distinguished between the several modes in which such deposits might be referred to *present* or *preceding* states of this planet.

"The many later investigations of such points induce the writer to believe that shell deposits like these cannot be cited to illustrate Ptolemy's period, or any definite historical period; and he avails himself of this opportunity to withdraw *this part* of an argument advanced when the means of obtaining a basis for an opinion on such points were different from what they are at present.

"With respect to his present opinion on the general question, he *continues* to think, as the Historian of Whalley did, that the account of the Lancashire Rivers by Ptolemy can best be explained by supposing him to have been informed that the mouths of the Dee and the Mersey formed one estuary. He (Dr. Ormerod) further thinks that a solution of the difficulty may be partly obtained by looking at the combined appearance of the low water channels and sand banks N.W. of Wirral, in the Chart appended to Enfield's *History of Liverpool* but he considers that a complete solution could only have been gathered from portions of the former coast, removed by inroads of the sea from present observation."

Mr. J. A. PICTON, to whose admirable little treatise on "The Changes of Level in Sea and Land" Mr. Massie so frequently referred in his Lectures on the Birkenhead Bridge, has favoured us with the following remarks on the subject thus reopened by our Cheshire historian as to the Ancient Channel of the Mersey:—

"I quite agree with Dr. Ormerod, that subsequent enquiries have



BRASS OF

SIR ROBERT DEL BOTHE, AND LADY.

WILMSLOW CHURCH.

changed the aspect of the question as to the 'Ancient Course of the Mersey,' from its position at the time of the publication of the *History of Cheshire.*

"My own view, generally, is this:—that anciently the peninsula of Wirrall extended much further southwards,—that the present estuary of the Mersey did not exist as an arm of the sea,—that Wallasey Leasowe, and the land about the mouth of the Mersey and Dee, formed extensive marshes, out of which Wallasey ("Walla's Eye," or island) rose up a conspicuous object,—that these marshes received the feeble fresh-water stream of the Mersey; so that in effect there would only be one opening to the coast, forming the 'Setcia Portus' of Ptolemy. With this view all the phenomena — submarine forests, — extensive peat beds, — and the gradual eating away of the land, all agree; in fact, there is ocular demonstration now existing on Wallasey Leasowe to this effect."

BATTLE OF BLORE HEATH.

(PAGE 96, *note.*)

A fine engraving of the monumental brass of Sir Robert and Lady Booth is given in Boutell's *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, and is fully described at page 41 of that work. Mr. Boutell states the fourth shield to have contained the arms of Booth, which was no doubt the case. Dulcia, Lady Booth, was daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Venables, of Bollin, whose father married Joan, only daughter and heiress of Hamon Fitton, of Bollin. This Hamon married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Peter Thornton, of Thornton; hence the occurrence of those three families, coats on the brass of Sir Robert Booth, the hero of Blore.

BRIDGE STREET, CHESTER, IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

(PAGES 109 *plate*, 190.)

Sir Philip Egerton, Bart, in whose paper on Cheshire County Elections it occurs as an illustration, has directed the Editors' attention to an error in the title of this curious print. Instead of "the 17th century," as there stated, the date which ought to have been given with the engraving was "A.D. 1714."

SAIGHTON GRANGE.

(PAGE 116, LINE 24.)

Charles Walley, the publican referred to in the text, was an eminent local Royalist, landlord of "The Red Lion Inn," and twice Mayor of Chester, once in 1630-1, and again in 1644-5. In the latter year, viz. on September 27th, 1645, he accompanied his royal master, Charles I. on to the roof of the Phœnix Tower, and, side by side with Thomas Cowper and Sir Francis Gamul, watched from thence the progress of the encounter on

Rowton Moor. Walley, and his two loyal compeers, Cowper and Gamul, were three out of the six chief citizens who, when the city was about to be given up to the Parliament, resolutely refused to sign the Treaty of Surrender. Walley and Gamul were, in retaliation for that step, summarily removed from their office as magistrates, on the Roundheads obtaining possession of the city.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER.

(PAGE 136, LINES 1—13.)

The late Chancellor laboured under a curious misconception with regard to this legend. The while he was industriously turning over the leaves of Giraldus Cambrensis on his fruitless search, he little thought that, as an original member of the *Chetham Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, he had the solution of the mysterious difficulty at hand on his own book-shelves. The 15th volume of that Society's publications is a black letter reprint of perhaps the rarest and most extraordinary work known to the literature of Cheshire. It is entitled "The Holy Lyfe and History of Saynt Werburge, very frutefull for all Christen people to rede." "Imprinted by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kinges noble grace, with priuilege to hym graunted by our souerayne lorde the kynge. A.D. MDXXI." Of this quaint poem, only five copies are known to be in existence. Two are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; a third is in the British Museum; a fourth is in private hands; and the fifth, which is slightly imperfect, is in the Minster Library at York. The Chetham Society's reprint of 1848 was edited, with valuable preface and glossary, by our honorary associate, Edward Hawkins, Esq., F. S. A., Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum. Henry Bradshaw, the author or translator of the poem, was a native of Chester, and a monk of St. Werburgh's Abbey. He died in 1513, just eight years before the publication of his curious rhyming Chronicle.

The inscription noticed by the late Chancellor at St. John's is an extract from the 21st chapter of this poem, in which King Ethelred, Uncle of St. Werburgh, is recorded to have been the founder of this venerable edifice. As the version there given differs in some respects from the original stanza, it will be as well to quote the latter, perhaps, from the work itself, with all its peculiarities of spelling and rhythm :—

"The yere of grace, syxe hundreth foure score and ayen
As sheweth myne auctour, a Bryton Giraldus
Kynge Ethelred, myndynge moost the blysse of heuen
Edyfyed a collage chyrche notable and famous
In the subbarbes of Chester, pleasaunt and beautyous
In the honour of god, and the Baptyst saynt Johan
With helpe of bysshop Wulfryce, and good ayrtacyon."

This poem of Bradshaw's, independent of its value as an historic work, contains several interesting and amusing legends relative to his patron saint, and to the stupendous miracles attributed to her shrine, "all whiche" old Archdeacon Rogers ventures to declare "be fabulose and lyinge!"

ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CHESTER.

(PAGE 148, LINE 5.)

From the circumstance of the name, Margaret Taylor (or Tailor) occurring just twenty years after the date of the "Bull tenement" demise, it would seem probable that the Prioress of 1533 had, in consequence perhaps of her declining years, or for some other sufficient reason, degraded to the position of an ordinary nun.

Among the Royal Letters in the Tower Collection is one, marked No. 542, addressed by the Nuns of St Mary's Priory to Queen Eleanor, consort of Henry II. In this letter, the date of which would be about 1253, Lady *Alicia de Stockport* is referred to as *late* Prioress of the Nunnery, and Lady *Alicia de la Haye* as having been elected in her stead. This adds a second new name to the list of Prioresses given in the *Monasticon*, and *History of Cheshire* Vol. I. page 274. Elizabeth Grosvenor, Prioress at the Dissolution, was a sister of Sir Thomas Grosvenor, of Eaton, Knight.

COUNTER-SEAL OF HUGH KEVELIOC.

(PAGE 158 *plate.*)

Dr. Ormerod, our venerable Cheshire historian, has obliged us with the correction of an error in the late Mr. Massie's foot note to this Earl's privy seal, in the following terms:—

"It is incorrectly stated that 'Ormerod says that the next (second) line *is the same in Norman French*' as the first. His statement really is (Vol. 1. page 32) that 'the second line, which is in Norman French, and like the preceding one rhymes in the middle, *is too obscure to offer any decided interpretation.*

THE HISTORY OF SEALS.

(PAGES 160 *(plate,* fig. 15,) 172.)

Chaplain William del Bache, who seals the deed referring to Upton in 1307, occurs, eight years afterwards, as Prior or Master of St. John's Hospital without the Northgate, at Chester. He is stated in the *History of Cheshire*, Vol. I. page 277, to have been "sued by the Vicar of Eastham for seven white loaves and seven bottles of beer, such as the Master fed upon, weekly, or in lieu thereof, half a mark. 3 Edward II."

(PAGE 177, LINE 6.)

The carved oak referred to in the text, and now forming the front of a seat in the Lady Chapel, is in point of fact the *pulpit* which, prior to

the recent alterations in Chester Cathedral, occupied the site of the present handsome stone pulpit on the north side of the choir.

(PAGES 180 *(plate*, fig. 5,) 181).

The parish church of Boyton, near Heytesbury, Wiltshire, is dedicated to St. Mary. If there was at any time an Hospital connected with that parish, the *Boythun* seal referred to no doubt belongs to that foundation.

THE BOTELER TOMB IN WARRINGTON CHURCH.

(PAGE 217, last line of page).

The Memorial inscription and the contract, which supply *conflicting dates* for the Chapel of the Troutbecks, are *both* given in the *History of Cheshire*, Vol. 2, page 28.

RECORDS RELATING TO THE RIVER DEE.

(PAGES 228 *line* 13, 245, *note* 3.)

The profession of Master Richard is here, as in many previously published references to this individual, not quite correctly translated. The name in the original Latin is Ricardus Ingeniator, which simply means Richard *the trapper* (or *fisherman*,) who was at that time the tenant of the King's Salmon Cage at Dee Bridge.

In connection with the early right of fishing in the Dee, one out of a large number of documents recently discovered in the archives at Westminster deserves mention here, from its special reference to this interesting subject. After the decease of "good Queen Eleanor," the beloved consort of Edward I., a commission was appointed, with Ralph de Ivingho at its head, and proclamation made, "calling upon all persons who had any cause of complaint or claim to make against any of the Queen's servants to appear and support it; and if any could be proved, ample amends should be made."

In answer to this challenge, numerous complaints and claims were put forward, and with various success. Among the rest "Madoc Cam and others complain that the Queen's bailiff at Bangor,—who, having taken the moiety of the fish caught by them in the Dee as the Queen's share, ought to have left the other moiety at their disposal,—had, when he had received the Queen's share, professed to buy theirs at the lowest valuation, and had directed his wife at one time to carry away 10s. worth for 12d.; at another time, a mark's worth for 2s., and half a mark's worth for 6d. This was denied, and it was alleged that the fish was taken at the value fixed by the appraisers of Bangor; but the jury completely confirm the complainants' statement, and adjudge them 40s. damages, and the bailiff to prison."

ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL, CHESTER.

(PAGE 254, line 17.)

Dr. Ormerod has favoured the Editors with the following correction and explanation of an error into which the Reverend lecturer had accidentally fallen in the use of his name :—

"Canon Blomfield inadvertently cites *Ormerod* as mentioning a Deed relative to this Chapel, made between the Abbot and Corporation,—but this is an error.

"All that Ormerod states on the subject (Hist. Chesh. Vol. I. p. 278) is the mention of 'the Chapel of St. Thomas,'.....' and a larger Chapel (the ruins of which exist in the walls of the present Theatre of Chester,) dedicated to St. Nicholas, used for a length of time as the Parish Church of St. Oswald's Parish,'—and this is perfectly correct.

"The passage on which Canon Blomfield inadvertently remarks *is part of the reprint of King's Vale Royal*, which of course is given *verbatim* from the original. It occurs in the *Vale Royal*, edit. 1656, in a discourse incorporated with Webb's *Itinerary*, (2nd Part, pp. 38, 39,) reprinted in the *History of Cheshire*, Vol. I. p. 166."

(PAGES 254 (line 28) 438.)

To the kindness of Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum, we are indebted for the following literal transcript of this Deed of Agreement between the Abbot and Citizens, which it would seem has been somewhat misconstrued by our early historians :—

"Harleian M.S. 2103, fo. 25.

"This Indenture made betwixt Symonde Abbott of the Monastrye of Sct Werburgh of Chester, and the Covent of the same place on that one ptie, and George Bulkeley mercer, Maire, Robert Chauntrell, Willm Snede, Harry Port mercer, John Barowe, Robert Waley, Thomas Barowe, Thomas Bunbury, Sherife, Richard Hocknell, baker, Stephen Baxter, Edmond Faringdon, Cristofer Whitell, Hugh Smithe, Jaynkin Davidson, Richard Wright, Richard Hoton, and Robert Wright, Cittizens and Parishioners of Sct. Oswald of the Cittye of Chester upon that other ptie. Witnesseth that the said Abbot and Covent by one assent & consent *have granted to the said maire & parishioners to edifye & cause to bee edifyed one newe Rofe and three durrs* (doors) *& halfe a dur of timber well and sufficiently to be made & sett up upon the newe Churche of Sct. Oswald* and hit sufficiently to Cover, & the north side of the saide Church to be bateld (embattled) w^th^ stone and guttered w^th^ leede sufficiently w^ch^ is edifyed ov late att the end of the chapell called S^ct^ Nicholas Chapell w^th^in the precintte of the said monastrey betwixt the date herof & the feast of the nativitye of our lord Jesu Christ w^ch^ shallbee in the yeare of our lord Ihû Christ M.cccclxxxx *towardes w^ch^ costys & expences, the saide maire and parishioners granten &*

bynden them & ichon (each one) *of hem to the saide Abbot & Covent by these pnts to content & pay unto the saide Abbot or to his certeine Attorney xl mrs* (marks) *of usuall money* of England in maner and forme ensuinge, that is to wete w^th^in xx^tie^ dayes after that the Carpenters beginne to worke uppon the said Rofex mrs, and att the feast of the nativity of S^ct^ John Baptist then next ensuinge or w^th^in xx^tie^ dayes the said feast imediatly ensuinge x^li^, and att the rearinge up of the said Rofe & finishinge of the said durrs coveringe battelinge and gutteringe in full paym^t^ of the said hole some other x^li^, & to all these covenantes well & trewly to bee observed & kept on evyche ptie the said Abbot and Covent to that one pte of this indenture anendys (opposite to) the said Maire & parishioners remayninge have setto their coen Seale, & to that other pte of this indenture anendys the said Abbot and Covent remayninge the said Maire & pishioners ech of them have setto their seale. Yevyne in the feast of S^ct^ Vincent the Marter (January 22) the yeare of our Lord Ihû Christ a m^l^cccclxxxviij & the yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henry the vij^the^ after the Conquest of England the iiij^the^

Endorsed—A Grant from the Abbott to the pishioners of S^t^ Oswoldes of the pish Church to Geo. Bulkley maior & other pishners."

It would appear from an attentive perusal of this document and its endorsement, that the Agreement was *not* between the *Corporation* and Abbot, as heretofore understood, but between *St. Oswald's Parishioners* (the Mayor himself being one of them) and the Abbey. Simon Ripley, the then Abbot, had just rebuilt the Church of St. Oswald, and the Parishioners are here entering into a covenant to finish the work by the erection of a new roof. We may conclude too, therefrom, that Divine service was celebrated for the first time in the new Parish Church of St. Oswald, on Christmas Day, A.D. 1490.

(PAGE 255, line 36.)

The Common Hall was totally distinct from the present Alms Houses, and stood some way back from the street, and nearer to the top of the lane called Pierpoint Lane, which was anciently a passage up to the Common Hall. As to the identity of its situation with that of the Roman Prætorium, it must be borne in mind that the City Walls, in Roman times, extended very little farther south than the end of Grosvenor Street and St. Michael's Church; consequently the centre of the city, which was the usual site of the Prætorium, would be somewhere between St. Peter's Church and Goss Street, at the intersection of the four streets. This *locale*, too, is quite in accordance with the voice of tradition, and with the concurrent testimony of our most ancient and trustworthy local historians.



CHESTER MUSIC HALL,

OPENED NOVEMBER 26, 1855.

(PAGES 258, 259 *note*, 260 *note*.)

St. Nicholas' Chapel, from 1750 to 1773, was frequently opened as a Theatre, under efficient management. In several instances, we find the Theatre at the *Wool Hall* and the Theatre at the *Tennis Court* open at the same time, and occasionally the stars of the one are observed to transfer their services to the opposition establishment.

"The Theatre in the Tennis Court" was certainly open, and by that title, in 1752, as advertisements in the local papers of that period clearly prove. William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, is recorded to have preached here on the occasion of James the Second's visit to Chester, in 1687, the King himself being present to hear him.

In accordance with the suggestion thrown out in this paper, a company was soon after formed, by means of which St. Nicholas' Chapel was, on November 26, 1855, publicly transformed into the CHESTER MUSIC HALL.

THE CHARTERS OF HUGH LUPUS AND RANDLE II. TO ST. WERBURGH'S ABBEY.

(PAGE 280, line 26.)

The "complete transcript in Latin," there promised to be given, was afterwards suppressed, for the reasons stated at page 291, where will be found Mr. Massie's English translation of the entire document.

(PAGES 281, 284, 294.)

Several names of places quoted in the Charters are incorrectly appropriated in the text, as, for instance, Ceveliam is translated Calveley, instead of *Cheveley*, which latter we know belonged to the Abbey (Calveley never did), Clistonam for Clifton, &c. Of others left in doubt by Mr. Massie, *Cryu* is without doubt *Crewe* by Farndon, which was also once a possession of the Abbey. *Lindesai* too, we apprehend, may be fairly Anglicised *Lincoln*, as may *Fuleuvic* be rendered *Fulwich*, now better known as Dirtwich.

MARTON CHAPEL, CHESHIRE.

(PAGES 303—305.)

At a Chapter of the "Rosicrucian Brotherhood," (a sort of Masonic Society of Manchester antiquaries) held February 5th, 1855, attention was drawn to an interesting paper in the present volume of our Society's *Journal*, by the Rev. W. H. Massie, "On some Timber Churches in Cheshire." The following notes were also read by one of the brethren, illustrated by some very striking drawings of Marton Chapel and Marton Hall, a *fac-simile* of a portion of the stained glass in a window in Marton Chapel, and a beautiful pen-and-ink drawing of Great Moreton Hall, now destroyed, from the original in the possession of Mrs. Lawton, of Lawton :—

"Some time ago, as early as May, 1853, I made drawings of Marton Chapel and Marton Hall, intending to bring them before a meeting of the Rosicrucians. Various delays have however occurred, and now the necessity for such a step is in a great degree removed in consequence of the publication of Mr. Massie's very interesting paper on Timber Churches, in the last volume of the Chester Historic Society's transactions. My drawing, taken from the south-west angle of the building, shows the west door and the western front. In addition to the details Mr. Massie has brought to bear on the antiquity of this interesting wooden chapel, I may mention a remnant of stained glass, of which I exhibit a fac-simile. It represents the upper half of a female figure, the face wrapped in a chin cloth, which is conclusive evidence of fourteenth century work. At no great distance from Marton Chapel stands Marton Hall, formerly the residence of the Davenports. It is a black and white timber building, the beams nearly all of them disposed so as to represent squares. It appears to me to be a late 16th, or early 17th century house. Two banner poles hang up in the entrance hall, and, in a large panelled sitting room the arms of the family are carved in oak over the chimneypiece. The accompanying sketch gives a better idea of the character of the hall than any description can do. Both Marton Chapel and Hall are in the parish of Prestbury, the township being also marked in Domesday survey as Merutune or Meretone. I also have the good fortune to possess a pen-and-ink drawing of Great Moreton Hall, copied from a water-colour drawing of the hall, prior to its being taken down to make room for the present edifice. Moreton is proved to have formerly been a component part of the barony of Kinderton. The male descent of the Moretons, of Great Moreton, terminated as early as Henry IV. when the township, &c. passed to the Bellots, by the marriage of Sir John Bellot to the heiress of the Moretons. Some of the monuments of the Bellots are to be seen in the south aisle of the Chancel at Astbury. The Bellots have been extinct for upwards of a century. Ormered speaks of the old Hall thus:—'The Hall of Great Moreton is a spacious building of timber and plaster, furnished with gables, in the style of the early part of the 17th century. It has been of late (1819) much altered; and previous to these alterations, windows of comparatively modern appearance had been substituted for the original ones, and the timber work concealed by stucco. In front of the house, near the roadside, were the steps of an ancient cross, which much resembled in appearance those which are described in the account of Lymme. These were removed about the year 1808.' Lysons adds that the manor of Great Moreton belonged at an early period to Ralph de Venables, whose son Robert assumed the name of Moreton, from the place of his residence, and was great grandfather of Stephen Moreton, living in 1432."

THE GREY FRIARS AND BLACK FRIARS OF CHESTER.

(Page 331.)

Great difference of opinion has prevailed among local antiquaries, touching the respective sites of these two religious houses,—some contending that Black Friars was situate on the south side of Watergate-street, and Grey Friars on the north. This position has been frequently combated, and,

as will be seen by the above reference, our late Ecclesiastical Secretary, Mr. Massie, took the opposite view, viz. :—that Grey Friars stood at or near the site of the road still called by that name,—and that the "brethren of the sable cowl" were located somewhere about the present Linen Hall. This is a "bone of contention," which it should be one of the objects of this Society to set clearly at rest. During the present year, 1856, the corporate authorities, who, by the way, are not always the soundest antiquaries, have caused the name of *Black Friars* to be painted up on a wall in Wall-street, leading from St. Martin's Ash. It becomes, therefore, additionally necessary to establish, once for all, if it be any way practicable, the real merits of this contradictory question; and we trust some member of our Society will turn his especial attention to the subject. Any persons possessing family deeds or other documents bearing upon this knotty point, are requested to notify the fact, without delay, to the Historic Secretary of the Society, W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Esq., Stanley Place, Chester.

JOHN DE WHITMORE'S MONUMENT IN TRINITY CHURCH, CHESTER.

(PAGE 357.)

Mr. Joseph Morris, of Shrewsbury, from whom a communication on this subject has already appeared in our *Journal*, furnished the following additional particulars to the late Rev. W. H. Massie, under date March, 1855 :—

"On looking over some Papers, I found an extract from a MS. of Mr. Owen Salusbury, of Rug, dated about 1640, containing the Pedigree of Whitmore of Thurstaston. I send you the early portion, which comes down to the person for whom, I believe, the Monument of which you give a sketch at page 357 of your Society's publication, is intended.

"It is on that Pedigree stated, that the Arms borne by Whitmore, "Vert fretty Or," were originally the Arms of Thurstaston; the other coat, borne by Whitmore of Thurstaston (as stated in my last), appears to have been derived from the family of Haslewall. But, I think, "Vert, fretty Or," was the proper bearing of the Whitmore family, and certainly it is that of the Shropshire Whitmores, from whom those of Chester and Thurstaston, might have descended."

Robert Whitmore, of Chester, with whom the Pedigree commenced. = **Agnes, daughter and heir of William Haslewall, and of Agnes, his wife, daughter and heir of Peter Thurstaston.**

John Whitmore, of Chester, and of Thurstaston, temp. Ed. 3rd, for whom the Monument was erected in Trinity Church, Chester.

MEDICAL OFFICERS IN THE ROMAN ARMY.

(PAGES 360—361.)

Professor Simpson, of Edinburgh, in a learned paper "On the Vestiges of Roman Surgery and Medicine in Scotland," read before the Archæological Institute of Great Britain, at its Annual Meeting at Edinburgh in 1856, observed as follows:—

"There was no doubt whatever that the Roman army was accompanied by a perfect medical staff; because there were incidental references to them in ancient authors, and monumental tablets to Roman army physicians had been dug up in this country. One especially might be quoted, found at Housesteads, in Northumberland, erected to a Roman medical officer who had fallen, at the early age of twenty-five, in the performance of his duties to his stern mother, the state. He (Professor Simpson) had no doubt that the Roman armies had physicians to cohorts as well as to legions. These physicians had settled in many parts of Britain. The existence of private practitioners was proved by the fact, that a considerable number of medicine stamps had been discovered bearing the name of the physician, of a disease, and of the medicine which cured it. Numerous surgical instruments had been found in this country, similar to those discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii—indeed, many of what were believed to be modern inventions had been manifestly forestalled centuries ago. The so-called lachrymatories, which were found in graves, he conjectured were medicine bottles buried along with other articles of food and dress, which were believed to be necessary for the departed in another world."

FOUNDATION CHARTER OF ST. WERBURGH'S ABBEY.

(PAGE 422, line 18.)

In a *cancelled* Preface to Part III. of our present Volume, the undermentioned paragraph occurs, and we have purposely repeated it in our Abstract of Proceedings, as above, in order to account for the insertion here of the following note from the pen of Dr. Ormerod. It will be perused with interest, especially in connection with Mr. Massie's lecture upon the Charters to which it refers (see *ante* pp. 279—297):—

"Deed discovered among the archives of Lord Westminster, and referred to by Dr. Ormerod as the Foundation Charter of St. Werburgh's."

THIS STATEMENT is *altogether erroneous*. The *History of Cheshire* was completed in 1819, and this deed was unknown until 1849.

The nature of the document alluded to seems to have been misapprehended, and it may, perhaps, be rendered clearer by a brief analysis of the deed, or rather of the printed copy of it, given in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* for 1850, p. 317. This is believed to be the first analysis of its composition from earlier documents that has been attempted.

It commences by giving *extensive extracts from* the Foundation Charter

of Chester Abbey, known as the "SANCTORUM PRISCA" Charter, and granted by Hugh Lupus in 1093. Then follows the Testimony of St. Anselm. After this come extracts from the Charters of Earl Richard and Earl Ranulph I. The three Charters are given at length in Leycester's *Antiquities* and in the *History of Cheshire*, I. pp. 12, 17, 18, and Anselm's Testimony in the *Legier Book of Chester Abbey*, in Harl. MSS., 1965 and 2062.

The next document is a Charter of Earl Ranulph II., differing little, in matter, from two more ample charters given in the *Monasticon* (II. 388) and followed by private grants in Backford, Bretby, and what seems to be Lydiate. Then comes an *unattested* general confirmation by Earl Ranulph II., and after it one by Archbishop Theobald, the last of which is in the *Legier Book* cited above.

The expression "extracts" is here used, as the recitals of the several Charters in the Eaton deed (as far as appears from the printed copy) are given with many variations, interpolations, and important omissions. It is therefore more desirable to explain, that it was never made a subject of reference in the *History of Cheshire*.

The copy of the "Sanctorum Prisca" Charter, uniformly referred to in that work, is that given by Leycester, p. 109, reprinted in Hist. Chesh. Vol. I. p. 12.

Leycester transcribed it with his own hand, from the exemplification in the Palatine Court, (8 Edward I.) which remained among the evidences in "St. Werburge Church" about 1644. Another copy is given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. II., p. 385, Edit. 1819, which is stated to have been taken in 1640, "ex ipso autographo penes Decanum et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cestrensis;" and he refers also to Cart. 2, H. 5, Memb. 26. M.S. copies also exist in the two *Legier Books*.

Reference to these *entire* charters is necessary for a proper understanding of the confirmatory Eaton deed.

An observation may be added with respect to one of the attestations affixed to that Charter of Earl Ranulph II., which is given, in abbreviated form, in the confirmatory Eaton deed, published by Mr. Planchè. The attestation alluded to is that of "CHATWALADER REX NORTWALIARUM.—*Journal of Archæological Association*, Vol. VI. p. 322.

This witness would be Cadwalader, younger son of Gruffydd ap Conan, who, according to H. Lhoyd (Edit. 1584, p. 203,) "fled to England" in 1151, "for succour to his wives friends, for she was the daughter of Gilbert Earl of Clare."

Ranulph II. (as shewn by Pedigree, *History of Cheshire*, Vol. I. p. 47,) was nearly connected with the Clares, and as he died in 1153, the time of the visit of the Welsh Prince to the Palatine Court and the date of this incorporated Charter would lie between the periods mentioned.

THE CITY OF CHESTER IN 1850.

This rough sketch, from the pencil of the late Rev. W. H. Massie, presented by him to the Society in 1850, gave the cue to Mr. Alfred Sumners, one of its members, for the production of his excellent and faithful Panorama of Chester from Curzon Park.

Since the publication of the earlier portion of this *Journal*, the following donations have been kindly made to the Society, and the thanks of the Council cordially rendered to the respective donors :—

The Representatives of the late Rev. W. H. Massie, Ecclesiastical Secretary of the Society, for numerous coins, fragments of pottery, glass, statuary, and other curiosities from his private collection at St. Mary's Rectory.

Guildhall Library Committee, London, for a copy of their privately printed and illustrated work on the "*Tradesmen's Tokens of the Metropolis*," edited by J. H. Burn.

Captain Clutton, for a copy of Mr. Henry Clutton's magnificent work on the "*Domestic Architecture of France.*"

Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King at Arms, for his privately printed pamphlet on the "*Order of Precedence.*"

Mr Charles Barnard, for his set of the "*Shakspeare Society Publications.*"

Lord Londesborough, through Mr. Croften Croker, for his Lordship's interesting "*Catalogue of Rings.*"

The late Mr. T. W. Barlow, for his "*History of Holmes Chapel*," and other Cheshire tracts.

The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for their Volume of *Transactions.*

The Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society, for new Volume of their *Proceedings.*

The Sussex Archæological Society, for Volume of their *Journal.*

The Oxford Architectural Society for Volume of their *Transactions.*

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society for portions of their *Transactions.*

Mr. Charles Roach Smith for his work on "*Gold Plates found in Ireland.*"

Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., of Liverpool, for his interesting pamphlet on the *Fejervary Ivories.*

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ERRATA.

At page 117, for "Huntingdon," read Huntington.
„ 124, for 1285, read 1385.
„ 157, for fig. 2, page 48, read fig. 2, p. 149.
„ 160, for fig. 103, p. 48, read fig. 103, p. 149; and in note for figs. 12, 13, 19, read 14, 18, 20.
„ 162, for fig. 12, p. 166, read fig. 7, p. 180.
„ 163, for fig. 9, p. 147, read fig. 9, p. 149.
„ 165, for figs. 1, 4, 6, read figs. 1, 4, 5.
„ 169, for p. 167, fig. 9, read p. 179, fig. 9.
„ 171, for fig. 16, read fig. 15.
„ 172, for p. 167, fig. 7, read p. 179, fig. 7.
„ 178, for plate at p. 167, read at 179.
„ 176, for plate at p. 148, read 149.
„ 179, for "Coporation," read "Corporation."
„ 259, for "Sir T. Vanburgh," read "Sir John Vanbrugh."
„ 280, for "family name," read "paternal."
The transcript spoken of is not given in this Number.
„ 284, for 1666, read 1066.
„ 285, for "soc.," query soccagii?
„ 286, query, "Hazel?"
„ 306, for "appears," read "appear."
„ 308, for "here given," read "before given."
„ 310, for "plate opposite," read "plate preceding."
„ 322, for 2, read 3.
„ 353, for "or," read "gules."
„ 357, for "has," read "have."

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